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finds with the past of Pimeria is not clear. Spanish documents may eventually yield more information as to the agricultural people of northern Sonora, now absorbed in the Mexican population. The Opata, and Tepecano who formed one area with the Upper Pimans, should have shared many Hohokam traits possessed by them, perhaps brought them to a higher point. The Lower Pimas, acknowledged by the Upper Pimas to be their kinsmen, present a further problem for they not only had irrigation and colored cotton clothing,[1] but lived in fortified communal houses.[2]

The present study, concerned with ethnology, can offer only such information as is implicit in the extent of Papago likenesses to one region or to another. There have been compiled in appendix II such data as time would permit showing the affiliations of the Papago with northern Mexico, with the Pueblos, the Shoshoneans and their only neighbors who were not Uto-Aztecan, the Yumans. From elements shared with these diverse cultures, the Papago have built a system suited to their life as small groups of peaceful agriculturists, frugal in equipment, informal in organization, intent on hard work and the compelling of the supernatural.

The Pimans as First Seen by the Whites

Between 1450, the latest tree ring date for the abandonment of the Gila by the Pueblo invaders, and 1687, when the first White missionary came, there is a gap in Piman history. At a stone ruin, north of Phoenix, there has been found Gila redware which seems to belong to a date after the departure and in the forests near Prescott there is Red on Buff, in company with black on gray belonging to another people.[3] These are the only pottery finds which point even vaguely to the history of the Hohokam after the invaders had left.

Spanish exploration began, according to tradition, only a hundred years after the exodus but the first travellers if, indeed, they crossed the country at all, left no recognizable account of it. Legend credits Fray Marcos de Niza with passing through the valleys of the Santa Cruz and San Pedro in 1539 though Saner doubts if he got much above the Mexican border.[4] In 1540, the main Coronado party

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[1] Alegre, 2: pp. 70, 124, 174, 186; Perez, pp. 240—241, 285.
[2] Alegre, 2: pp. 70, 124; Doc. Hist., 4, Series 3, p. 359.
[3] Gladwin, 1933, p. 359.
[4] Saner, 1933, p. 88.

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went the same way and "some poor Indians" who came out to meet the general may have been Sóba Jípuris of the San Pedro.[1] Melchior Diaz, a Coronado scout, went from Sonora to the mouth of the Colorado, probably through Mexican Papagueria[2] but left no description. The first historian and geographer of Pimeria is Father Eusebio Francisco Kino (Kühne) the Austrian Jesuit, who labored for its conversion from 1687 to 1711.

Kino found the River and Desert People well established, in the very localities where they are now. As far as can be told from his casual comments, their culture was just what it was when seen by later American visitors and what it has remained almost to the present. But kinsmen of theirs were spread over a much wider territory than is now occupied and his description of all these inhabitants of Pimeria may help us to some deductions as to the components of its population.

When Kino was assigned to the Upper Pimas, no more was known of them than their location and that but vaguely. Spain had conquered Mexico City in 1523 and since then had been pushing gradually northward through the unconquered territory. These excursions had of necessity been along the coastal plain, the rivers which traversed it to the sea acting as landmarks. Each expedition passed a new river until in 1687, the next to last, the Magdalena had been reached. Beyond it lay unexplored desert. In the valley of the Magdalena, however, mission stations had been established and two silver mines were in operation. There was a Spanish governor, Spanish mayors of the mining towns and Spanish settlers, both mining and ranching. They regarded "this Pimeria" to the north of them as an ultima thule, of low savages and deadly thirst.

It was known, however, that the inhabitants were related to the Lower Pimas, or Nevomes. These agriculturists, long since "reduced", had obtained their nickname from the Spaniards because of their phrase "pi nyi mate", I don't know. From them Kino took interpreters so that he was equipped to meet his new charges.

His aim was not only to evangelize the Upper Pimas but to explore and map the country. In fact, during his twenty-three years of service he made fifty journeys throughout its length and breadth, many of them dipping into what is now the Papago reservation and two cutting through the heart of it. During these two, Kino not only explored but baptised, distributed seeds and appointed native officials. Bolton[3] has carefully traced the course of these

[1] Sauer, 1932, p. 36.
[2] Sauer, 1932, pp. 37—38.
[3] Bolton, 1936.

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journeys and we shall adopt his painstaking identification of localities. Not only Kino but his military escorts, Bernal and Manje, have left in their diaries brief glimpses of the Pimans describing them in greater detail than did the padre whose mind was on God and how to get to California.

The whole country, from the Altar to the Gila, from the San Pedro west to the "Cocomaricopas" and even, at one point to the gulf, was occupied by people known as Pimas. Manje says of them: "although in different regions and divisions, yet is it one and the same, the language which they speak, with a little difference here and there in some verb or noun".[1]

All these people practised agriculture if there was the slightest opportunity and, wherever there was water, they irrigated. But there was not water everywhere and because of the varying conditions, Kino found the population divided into groups, differently named and with slightly different food, dress and housing.

Kino established himself in Sonora, in the valley of the little San Miguel river and his mission station Dolores soon became famous. Near the south-flowing San Miguel were two other little streams which flowed in the same direction and joined: the San Ignacio and the Altar. In the valleys of all of three were people whom Kino calls simply "Pimas": agriculturists, who had irrigation "wherever there were good arroyos".[2] Caborca, which may be taken as a sample town had "fertile and rich lands all under irrigation with acequias where they harvest plentiful maize, beans and calabashes."[3] It was among these Sonoran towns, that Kino established his missions and the actual "reduction" proceeded.

But Kino was always anxious for a northern extension and he soon pushed down the two parallel streams, the Santa Cruz and the San Pedro, which flow northward into the Gila and form the eastern boundary of the desert. Here were "extended plains with pleasing and delightful valleys,"[4] the San Pedro having 2000 people in fifteen villages.[5] The Pimas on these rivers bore the added title of Sóba Jípuris, sometimes spelled Soba y Jipuris. The term is untranslatable but there was a western group called Sobas and Jípurí may be an old descriptive or locative.

The villages of the Sóba Jípuris extended from the Gila as far up the two little streams as irrigation was possible. Tumacácori,

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[1] Manje, p. 250.
[2] Manje, p. 225.
[3] Manje, pp. 216—222; Bolton, 1936, p. 274.
[4] Bolton, 1936, p. 377.
[5] Bolton, 1936, p. 367.

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almost at the Mexican border of Arizona was one of their settlements and Bac, outside Tucson, another. They were prosperous agriculturists raising corn, beans, pumpkins and melons, which may mean a variety of pumpkin since the Pimans had two. In some of their districts "there is not so much agriculture," says Bolton "or so large a population, at the present day".[1] They gave the soldiers of the escort "so much maize flour that they did not have bags in which to put it",[2] and the Father Visitador, Kino's superior, thought the fields of Bac could support 30,000 people,[3] as in fact they do now. Beside their food, the Sóba Jípuris raised cotton which they wove and dyed for clothing and they were "dressed and adorned with colored mantas (cotton blankets) belts and strings of beads around the neck".[4] Their large town Bac, contained 800 people,[5] and Quiburi, the next, 500.[6] Both were "fortified,"[7] though the nature of the fortification is not described. Did it resemble a Hohokam compound? The houses, at least were not of the wattle and daub variety for they are always described as being made of mats,[8] a custom neither Hohokam (so far as known) nor present Piman, but common in Sonora and the south.[9] The Spaniards credited the Sóba Jípuris with a federal organization and speak of "the principal chief of all the rancherias" in a district,[10] even of the "head chief of all the Pimas",[11] but we cannot be sure how truly they interpreted the situation.

The Sóba Jípuris were far more warlike than the Papago of the present paper and even Kino admits that those of Quiburi were "somewhat less docile than the foregoing people of the West."[12] They were on the frontier of Apache country and constantly subject to attack. Kino describes a battle like those recorded later for Pimas and Yumas[13] with five hundred and six hundred men on a side, a formal challenge and a fight by selected champions, ten Sóba Jípuris and ten Apaches. The Sóba Jípuris won and chased the enemy for four leagues killing three hundred with their poisoned arrows.[14] But they did not fight merely for defense. They quarrelled among themselves and a war between two powerful chiefs on the San Pedro had caused sixty miles of the fertile valley to

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[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 361.
[2] Bolton, 1936, p. 366.
[3] Manje, p. 277.
[4] Bolton, 1936, p. 367.
[5] Bolton, 1936, p. 268.
[6] Bolton, 1936, p. 360.
[7] Bolton, 1936, pp. 361, 381.
[8] Bolton, 1936, p. 376.
[9] Beals, 1932, p. 178.
[10] Bolton, 1936, p. 365.
[11] Bolton, 1936, p. 381.
[12] Bolton, 1936, p. 269.
[13] Russell, p. 41.
[14] Bolton, 1936, p. 381.

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be deserted.[1] One wonders if this warlike people could have had an Apache mixture. They were fighting the Apache in Kino's time but a Spanish record some years previously had called Quiburi, their principal town, a settlement of Pimas and Jocomes (a nomad group) intermingled.[2]

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These easterners had the most elaborate culture found among Kino's charges. Their irrigation, so admiringly commented upon, recalls Hohokam practise and might indicate a long period of establishment. But Kino, occupied with teaching them to bake bread and herd cattle, says nothing to indicate whether they also made the shell carvings, slate palettes, three quarter grooved axes and funeral urns which characterized the Hohokam. Excavations along the San Pedro and Santa Cruz may help to elucidate their history.

The Sóba Jípuris were already moving from the Apache border in Kino's time,[3] and later they all scattered among the other Pimas. The writer, when on the Gila, had a certain family unexpectedly pointed out as Sóba Jípuris. Ultimately, all the villages were deserted except Bac, the seat of Kino's one mission, whose Spanish affiliations may have helped to protect it. It was through that channel that Spanish influence, what there was of it, was kept alive in the territory of our study.

The next two groups found by Kino differed from the Sóba Jípuris only as their environment had forced a simplification of their culture. Kino speaks of them all as Pimas and feels no doubt as to their being the same people. Those on the Gila, he regarded as identical with the Sóba Jípuris and sometimes called them by that name.[4] He had time only for three visits to these distant parishioners, staying a day or less at each village. Both he and his escort were so taken up with preaching that we hear little about these who are now called the Pimas proper except for a general report of "abundant crops" and we are left to assume that since they were included in the same journey with the people of the San Pedro and Manje sums them all up together, they also had irrigation and raised corn, beans, pumpkins, and cotton. They and the people of the other two rivers, together, said Manje, had 920 houses and 4700 persons.[5] Among the gila people, we hear for the first time of

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 63.
[2] Causa Criminal contra Canito Parral, Archives, quoted in Bolton, 1936, p. 247, note.
[3] Bolton, 1936, p. 395.
[4] Bolton, 1936, p. 249.
[5] Bolton, 1936, p. 377.

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eating mesquite beans,[1] and mountain sheep, whose horns were piled up in a heap overtopping the houses.[2] To the present day, among old fashioned Pimans, deer horns are piled in a special place as a mark of respect to the deer. They built for Kino a house of mats, like those of the Sóba Jípuris but the soldiers of his escort were entertained in a house of poles covered with reeds which was apparently the usual dwelling.[3]

Between the Gila and the Altar stretched two hundred miles of desert whose full length Kino traversed only twice. Here lived those Pimas who, at present, bear the name of Papago. Kino heard of them from the Gila Pimas who gave him guides, but the Desert People must have been in constant communication with the River People for, on the missionary's arrival they were prepared with the customary arches and crosses "although never in that village (kuhatk) nor in others of this vicinity and coast, had there entered another white face or Spaniard."[4] They were also in communication with the Sóba Jípuris of the San Pedro for they had just been down to help them in a fight against the Apache.[5] Kino noted that these people had abundant crops of maize, calabashes, beans and the unexplained melones.[6] He baptized the children and his official escort gave eight canes of office, a governor and three subsidiary officers to one village and a governor each to four more.[7] On two other occasions Kino dashed through the desert country, once giving a few more badges of office, once baptising and inquiring for the sick. He gives us the names of village sites but otherwise it is on Manje and the later recorders that we must rely for information about the Papago of the seventeenth century.

The villages are, at the present day, almost where Kino found them and they still bear the nickname bestowed by their neighbors, pápavi ó'otam, Bean People. Papago final syllables are whispered, so the Spaniards heard only pápav ót. In the succeeding centuries, they rendered it Papabotes, Papalotes, Papagotas, and finally settled down to Papagos.

The bean referred to was the aboriginal bean of the Southwest, now called tepary which is more heat and drought resistant even than maize and which, in dry summers, was the only possible crop. Manje mentions it at Sonoita, where there was permanent water and where he may have been justified in attributing the bean eating to laziness rather than hard weather conditions.

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[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 373.
[2] Bolton, 1936, p. 372.
[3] Bolton, 1936, p. 373.
[4] Bolton, 1936, p. 397.
[5] Bolton, 1936, p. 398.
[6] Bolton, 1936, pp. 396—401.
[7] Bolton, 1936, p. 398.

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"They gave us only beans for, although they have an arroyo and rich land with a ditch to irrigate it, they are lazy and do not get enough corn for the whole year."[1]

It seems to have been Manje himself who picked up the Bean People nickname and perpetuated it, for a little later he reports:

"We took a trip to the northwest to see the Papabotas"[2] and again: "These people are naked and poor for they are of the nation Pima Papabotas."[3]

As the Spanish occupancy went on, the nickname became official and Kino's successors say:

> "I do not know why these rancherias have been given the appellation of Papagos."[4]

"The land in some places is somewhat sterile due to lack of care. The people there are called Papabotas. Their principal harvest is papavi (beans)."[5]

"Papagos is the name given by the Pimas to those particular Pimas who live in the desert as far as Tucson and ..... up to the Gila, living on seeds, grass, rabbits, rats and wild fruits."[6]

"The papagos, or papabotas, a nation situated between Upper Pimeria (which must mean the Altar Valley) and the Gila."[7]

"To the north (of the Altar Valley) are the papagos, who also are pimas, but inferior. They have no water but live on the desert."[8]

"The Papagos are cowards and under the domination of the Pimas."[9]

"The Pimas of the North hold those of the West (Papagos) in little esteem and it is true that these latter, whether it be due to having less fire or to some other cause, recognize in the others some superiority and look up to them with a special respect which, although not amounting to subjection, remains a matter of knowledge."[10]

That is as far as the descriptions of the Desert People go and one imagines that most of them were from hearsay. But they establish that the Pimas who acquired the nickname of Papago lived in the desert between the Altar and the Gila, part of which is now in the Papago reservation. Their differences in culture were due to the exigencies of their habitat and when the Spaniards spoke of them

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[1] Manje, p. 262.
[2] Manje, p. 262.
[3] Manje, p. 278.
[4] Afanes, p. 330.
[5] Velarde, pp. 2, 128.
[6] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, p. 554.
[7] Alegre III, p. 291.
[8] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, p. 838.
[9] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, p. 892.
[10] Velarde, pp. 2, 133.

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as "inferior" and "cowardly" they were referring to the frugality and peaceableness which ultimately distinguished the Desert People in several ways from the prosperous, warlike and organized Sóba Jípuris.

One other group was sometimes spoken of as Papago: the people in the extreme southwest of Kino's country next the sandhills which border the gulf. These were the followers of the great chief Soba called Sobas as a group. The name is so similar to that of the Sóba Jípuris that one imagines a connection, but they had small resemblance to the prosperous agriculturalists of the east. They are the only people of whom agriculture is not reported. They were met on a food gathering expedition, "the men without other ornament than their innocence" and the women dressed in two deerskin aprons,[1] which they had to take off to carry Kino's "little gifts" — these aprons being all the clothing in the party. Other such poor and skin clad Indians were to be found scattered through the southern country away from the rivers. Further east Kino reports 120 of them scantily clad in rabbitskin,[2] and at another place two women also with a slender covering of rabbitskin, dipping water in jugs from a pool.[3] We may conjecture that those in the sandhills, were the ancestors of the present Sand Papagos who now occupy the arid region west of the Ajo Mountains, around the Tiñas Altas, Tule Tanks and Papago Tanks,[4] and the vicinity of Dome. They are still a nomadic people, the poorest of all the desert dwellers. But, since all desert people are great travellers, they have had frequent contacts with the Papago of our study.

We can summarize, then, five groups among the people called Pimas. On the streams, there were the agriculturalists and irrigators: the "Pimas" in Sonora, the Sóba Jípuris in eastern Arizona, the Pimas, called also Sóba Jípuris, on the Gila. In the desert between the Gila and the Altar were the "Papabotas of the northwest" who had agriculture but without irrigation, and in the southwest the skin clad food gatherers who seemed to have no agriculture at all.

These people were in communication with one another for they guided Kino all over the territory. They were not thoroughly united for the Sóba Jípuris on the San Pedro had been fighting one another and the Sobas had a feud with Kino's own village of Magdalena, but occasionally they formed alliances against the

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 276; Manje, p. 280.
[2] Bolton, 1936, p. 273.
[3] Bolton, 1936, pp. 274—5.
[4] Bryan, pp. 132—134; Hornaday, pp. 181—182.

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Apache as did the Desert People and the Sóba Jípuris. They also had communication with other Indians, even at some distance. Sauer has shown that there was a well travelled Indian route all the way from Mexico City along the eastern edge of the Pima country and up to the Hopi.[1] Though this route would have been impassable to one who did not know the mountain passes and the flood seasons, the Pimas evidently followed it at least as far south as the Lower Pimas, where Fray Marcos met some of them in 1539.[2] The corn raising Lower Pimas and Opatas were so familiar with the Upper Pimas that Kino took them as interpreters and Manje employed them to teach the care of cattle.[3] The Opatas were thoroughly scornful of their less agricultural congeners and used to say when rebuked, "Do you imagine we are like the Papagos?"[4] It was the tyranny of an Opata cattle boss which precipitated the first feeble revolt of the "Pimas" against Spanish authority.

The Pimas evidently followed the trade route all the way to Hopi country. "They trade with a nation to the northwest, ten days journey on foot, who are white and clothed."[5] "The Sobaipuris have had communication with the Moquinos and have held fairs with them."[6]

The journey to the north was a difficult one, leading up onto the plateau in unfamiliar country which later was infested with Apaches. Much simpler was contact with the Yuman tribes living in the same desert country but further to the west. Kino visited many of these tribes with Piman interpreters and gives a map of them.

Going down the Gila, he passed into the villages of the Cocomaricopas without realizing that he had left the Pimas. In some of these western journeys, it is hard to decide in what territory he was, for "the principal ones came to see us from farther up and farther down and some .... from the Colorado. All were very affable, Cocomaricopas as well as those of the Rio Colorado, for although they are of a different language, there are always among them many Pimas and others who speak the Pima language very well."[7]

Kino sent messages to all the Yumans indiscriminately, both by Pimas[8] and Papagos[9], who seemed to be in constant communication with them. He was, however, aware of a feud which concerned the Opas, Yumas, and Maricopas, those of the west, the Yumas, having

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[1] Sauer, Road to Cibola.
[2] RBAE 14, I, 356.
[3] Allegre III, 82.
[4] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, 582.
[5] Velarde 2, 131.
[6] Velarde, 2, 139.
[7] Bolton, 1919, 1, 246.
[8] Bolton, 1919, 1, 237.
[9] Bolton, 1919, 1, 310.

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always lived in very bloody wars with those of the east, the Opas (who, Spier says, were the Kaveltcadom) and the Maricopas. In this the Pimas of the irrigated valleys joined and at a fair they held yearly they exchanged, along with woven cloth and baskets, "the Yumas they have taken prisoner".[1] But the Pima-Yuma feud seems never to have reached the Papagos. The Yumas were actually their nearest neighbors. Kino used the Papagos of Sonoita as ambassadors to the Yumas,[2] and the Yumas reciprocated.[3] Years later Anza was doing the same thing. The Franciscan priest Garces in 1777 reported: "The Yumas are at war with the Pimas but friendly with the western Papagos."[4]

This gives a picture of constant intercourse toward the west, sometimes warlike and sometimes not, with the Yumas, Opas and Cocomaricopas, who in their turn knew the upland Yumas and the desert Shoshoneans, and the Digger Indians of Southern California.[5] All these tribes live in open desert country and among them obvious likenesses are found. Little is said about the Seri to the south, until they rebelled against the Spaniards and the "Western Pimas" helped suppress them.[6]

The picture of distant contacts over open desert country to the west is entirely reversed at the east. Here Pimeria is sharply bounded by the tongue of highland which stretches up from the Mexican Sierra Madre, and which formed part of "the very extensive Apacheria". No one knew in Kino's time how extensive but it certainly stretched up to the Hopi and down past the Opatà corn country as far as the Tarahumare. This was a roaming range with a few camps hidden here and there in the hills. From it raiding parties dashed out far into the fertile valleys, so that at one time Pimeria was almost surrounded with what was practically Apache territory.

This developed during the Spanish occupation. When Kino first arrived in the last ten years of the seventeenth century, the agricultural villages in the eastern end of Pimeria were existing undisturbed. There was a little talk of horse stealing which the Spanish authorities blamed on the Pimas themselves, but Kino on behalf of his charges finally fixed the guilt on the distant and mysterious Apaches.[7] Travelling to the northern part of his mission field, he was informed that it was not possible to go farther and reach the Hopis as had once been done, because the Apaches "for some years" had barred the way.[8] Kino's successor, writing about

[1] Orozco, 346.
[2] Bolton, 1919, 1, 310.
[3] Allegre, III, 135.
[4] Coves, p. 540.
[5] Spier, 41.
[6] Velarde 2, 138.
[7] Bolton, 1919, 1, 121.
[8] Bolton, 1919, 1, 198.

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1720, says that the people on the San Pedro had had within his own time a quarrel with the Hopi which was never made up, because the Apaches prevented visiting.[1] Even in Kino's time assaults began on the eastern valley towns near to Apacheria. In 1697 one of the mission towns, Cocóspera in Sonora, suffered from what Kino refers to as the "first attack of the Jocomes (Apaches)."[2] The next year six hundred "Jocomes, Sumas, Mansos and Apaches" attacked Santa Cruz to the north in the San Pedro valley. The Pimas fought hard, gathering to pursue the invaders and killing on the second occasion cited 300 of them.[3] But then the Apache front was widened and the raids became constant over the whole eastern extent of Pimeria which was nearest to the hills and far up the Gila and Altar valleys to north and south. By 1750 the San Pedro which had once held 2,000 people was completely deserted. In the south, the Altar villages were depopulated and agriculture had almost ceased. Even the Spanish mines and ranches were being abandoned and the "total ruin of the province was feared."[4] This terrorism continued at intervals until the United States subdued the Apaches in 1874.

The Apache attacks were highly influential in producing the present distribution of Pima and Papago. As the comfortable river settlements were devastated, their Pima inhabitants fled or were killed and after more or less time the desert Papagos seeped in to take their places. The Sóba Jípuria after defending the San Pedro valley for years, finally abandoned it and settled in the next valley to the west, the Santa Cruz. Even this proved untenable and Bac which had had irrigation "more than the city of Mexico" became at last a Papago town and the first set aside as a Papago reservation. The same thing happened in the Altar valley where the irrigated towns, stocked by the Spaniards with wheat and cattle, were first depopulated and then repeopled by Papagos. "San Ignacio," a Spanish report said of one of them in 1750, "is more Papago than Pima."[5]

These movements produced the permutations which make it so difficult now to treat separately of Pimas and Papagos.

Relations with Whites

The Spanish occupancy of Pimeria began with Kino's coming in 1687 and ended with the Gadsden purchase by the United States

[1] Velarde 2, 139.
[2] Kino, Colocacion, referred to in Bolton 1919, 1, 176; also Manje, 2, 83.
[3] Bolton, 1919, 1, 181.
[4] Bolton, 1919, 1, 155.
[5] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, 892.

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in 1853. In spite of this 166 years of influence, there did not occur in Pimeria either the dying out of the natives which happened in California or the almost complete Hispanization which took place in Sonora. White settlers were always few and white influence discontinuous, the reasons being the sterile nature of the country and the Apache raids.

When Kino arrived on the borders of Pimeria, the whole west coast of Mexico had been incorporated in the Spanish colonial structure from Mexico City up to the Sonora valley, the last but one before the Piman desert. Here there was already a military post and two mining towns with Spanish governors.[1] It was Kino's plan to gather the natives of all Pimeria into villages which should surround a church, which should have well stocked cattle farms and wheat fields, and which should act as supply stations on the road to California.

Kino was an organizer of the highest ability and he did all that one man could do to put the plan into operation. He established missions; he stocked them with cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and poultry, a herd of 500 horses and as many cows being nothing unusual. He taught the natives to build adobe brick houses for the priests and adobe brick churches; to sow and thresh wheat, lentils and vetch; to plow; and to tend cattle. He made fifty trips throughout the country, baptising and distributing Spanish names to localities and people. These first "entries" were an overhelming success and Kino's writings are paeans of enthusiasm over these people "so docile, so affable . . and industrious,"[2] who "in all places received us very kindly,[3] guiding and accompanying us with love, and, if the occasion demanded, coming to meet us with many jars of water many leagues journey."[4] They "listened with pleasure to talks concerning God, Heaven and Hell and told me that they wished to be Christians[5] and came fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety, one hundred or more leagues' journey, all for the purpose of asking and obtaining holy baptism."[6]

Many of these contacts were brief and the permanent "reduction" which was planned to follow them, proved impossible. Kino established three missions in Sonora: Dolores, San Ignacio and Tubutama, each with several smaller places as "visitas". Caborca, to the west, never managed to keep a priest after the first one was killed, but Bac, across the international border, proved the most

[1] San Juan and Bacamuchi, Bolton, 1919, 1, 112.
[2] Bolton, 1919, 1, 120.
[3] Bolton, 1919, 1, 172.
[4] Bolton, 1919, 1, 169.
[5] Bolton, 1919, 1, 123.
[6] Bolton, 1919, 1, 161.

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lasting of them all. Even in Kino's time they were not all manned constantly and afterward, there was an even greater fluctuation in personnel.

Beside the priest in charge of a mission, Kino, or the king's representative with him, appointed native officers. Even the remote savages whom Kino might never see again received discourses about the "two majesties" (God and the king of Spain) and their chiefs were given wands of office. The complete roster of civil and ecclesiastical authorities used in the more civilized pueblos seems not to have been attempted, but each large-sized town had an Indian alcalde (mayor), while the smaller ones had justices. There were, besides, local military captains who were given a horse and gun apiece and were to recruit their people against the Apaches. Carrying on the idea of organization, one captain general was appointed for the whole of Pimeria but this centralized government was unsuccessful for the captain general finally became overweening and organized a revolt.[1]

These appointees cooperated very willingly with Kino, hunting for offenders and bringing them to justice, carrying messages for him, and attending to church herds and farms. Those in his own river valley had contacts with him, but the others saw him only when he passed through their hamlets at intervals of a year or more. As for the Spanish officials to whom they were nominally subject, they were myths to the Indians and the Indians little more to them.

This was all to have been changed with time and Kino wrote urgently to Spain for more missionaries for this country, "which seems to give thanks to the Lord by offering such an opportunity for its conquest and conversion."[2] A few missionaries were sent. In fact there were by 1750 nine in Pimeria.[3] But the expansion which Kino had expected never took place. When the great organizer had died and the undermanned missions settled down to routine, the reports from Pimeria altered rapidly. "There are no Christians in the world who receive the doctrine more eagerly and understand it less than these Indians .. they forget it from year to year."[4] Nor did their agricultural education proceed much better The Indians at mission stations were supposed to work in the fields three days for the church and three days for themselves. But they "objected to working for themselves as much as for the church" and were "so lazy and wasteful that they had to be whipped to make them do anything."[5] The collapse of Kino's plan is clearly

[1] Allegre III, p. 290.
[2] Bolton, 1919, 1, 90.
[3] Afanes, 343, 359, 366, 448.
[4] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, 592.
[5] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, 594.

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reflected as time goes on, in successive reports: 1716, the majority of the Pimas are still gentiles;[1] 1732, three new missionaries were sent, but only one stayed;[2] 1749, Bac (one of the stations) is more heathen than Christian;[3] 1750, the missionized pueblos have gone back to their ancient barbarism.[4] This last date is in the period of the most violent Apache raids, when the Spaniards themselves were talking of abandoning the country. It was the next year that the Pimas also revolted, destroyed two missions and killed the priests, besieged two other priests in their church and killed, according to one estimate, 119 Spaniards besides probably plundering other missions.[5] They were disciplined and promised to rebuild the churches, but they never did. A Spanish report after this states that there is no help for Sonora except to deport the Pimas who have returned to savagery.[6]

The Jesuit missions kept alive for eighteen years longer, but as Bancroft states: "The natives lived as they pleased, leaving their women and children at the missions for protection or coming in now and then to get food."[7] In 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from the new world. Their place in Pimeria after a year of interregnum was taken by the Franciscans, who remained until the war for Mexican independence in 1823.

This second mission period was one of devoted individual work without any attempt at the former large organization. The Apache terror was in full swing: funds were not availlable as they had been. The Franciscans confined themselves to two of the northern missions, Bac and Tumacacori, without any attempt to rehabilitate the Altar valley, which had been such a flourishing Jesuit domain. The devoted Father Garces made some mission journeys around the country and gave the people a chance to become reacquainted with the tenets of Christianity but after him the missions dwindled to a quiet death.

The contact with lay Whites during this time had been less than in almost any other part of the Spanish domain. Pimeria was a province of Nueva Viscaya and then of Sonora which meant that its Spanish governor always resided far to the south. There was, when Kino first arrived, one military post with fifty men just

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[1] Velarde 1, 118—119.
[2] Allegre III, 245.
[3] Gallardo, quoted in Banc. V, 1, 534.
[4] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, 614.
[5] Allegre III, 291; Keller, MS quoted in Banc. V, 1, 545.
[6] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, 614.
[7] Banc. V, 1, 560.

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outside the borders of Pimeria.[1] During the Apache raids frantic appeals brought two more,[2] and finally one in the Santa Cruz valley.

At these remote frontier posts one of the military escorts himself says: "The soldiers were lazy and rapacious."[3] They were continually streaming about the country in unsuccessful pursuit of the Apaches and often helped by the Pima, three hundred of whom sometimes went out with the Spaniards at once. This provided casual voluntary contacts but none that were permanent.

Ranches, in that difficult country were always few, the settlers complaining that the missions monopolized all the desirable land.[4] The Apache menace made large haciendas, such as existed in California, too much of a risk. In 1764 there were only two.[5] But the Spanish reports mention white men living far from any pueblo and owning a few cattle[6] and complain of the evil "Spaniards, coyotes and mulattos" who lead the Pimas astray.[7]

The most important contacts of the Pimans, outside the missions, must have been those with mining prospectors. The country abounds in thin deposits of gold and silver, reachable with a pickaxe, or in the river valleys through placer mining. In the Altar valley during the Spanish occupancy there were continual flurries of gold discovery, but no establishment of large mines like those farther south which set whole Indian populations to work. As a report to Spain in 1750 puts it:

"There is not a single regularly established *real* (mining camp) or settlement in Sonora or one having over ten permanently resident families. The population is scattered and constantly changing with the discovery of new mines..... poor miners struggle for existence."[8]

The Pimas themselves had made no use of the desert minerals and even Spanish miners did not push past the Altar valley until 1736 when a deposit of silver nuggets was found at Arizonac *(ari conacum*, having a little spring) in the middle of the desert country. For a while the country was flooded with "roving vagabonds called miners",[9] but the supply was soon exhausted. There must always

[1] Fronteras, in the Sonoca valley.
[2] Bancroft, V, 1, 523.
[3] Manje, quoted in Bancroft, V, 1, 504.
[4] Salvador report, quoted in Banc. V, 1, 542.
[5] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, 609.
[6] Salvador report, quoted in Banc. V, 1, 532.
[7] Doc. Hist. III, V. 4, 630.
[8] Gallardo, quoted in Banc. V, 1, 534.
[9] Banc. V, 1, 526.

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have been a few individual prospectors wandering about the region but the majority were kept off by the sterile nature of the country, the expense of reducing ores and the danger from the Apache.

It was after the mission period that there began those changes which officially separated the Papago from the Pima. As has been mentioned, many of the former desert people had flooded into the irrigated towns, in the Altar valley and up the Santa Cruz. But those towns were still within Apache country and out of the way of travel. The Pima on the Gila had never been forced to move nor been replaced by Papagos. Little by little, as the United States expanded westward, the route along the Gila became known and with it the Pimas resident there. When the United States made a purchase of territory from Mexico in 1853, this Gila Valley was included. There was also included a stretch of desert to the south of it which had the effect of cutting the old Pimeria practically in two. The Altar valley, which had bounded Pimeria on the south, remained in Mexico. The desert dwellers who had always had more affiliations with that valley than with the Gila kept their connections with it.

Thus as the stream of white travel touched the River People more and more constantly, the Desert People remained unknown, their contacts still in Mexico. There was some attempt to regulate all the territory of the Gadsden purchase from Tucson but in 1871 a reservation was set apart at Sacaton and called Pima. When in 1874 a little land was reserved to the Indians around the old settlement of Bac, this was called Papago.

White ranchers and prospectors were now beginning to settle on the Public Domain which had been Papago land and it became obvious that the Indians must have protection. There were set aside in succession, first 10,233 acres at Gila Bend, then eighty at Sells (with eighty more at San Miguel for Presbyterian and Catholic missionaries) and finally the large reservation established in 1917 and enlarged in 1921 and 1933 until it now contains 2,636,615 acres. It was the last reservation to be established and its provisions contained a ruling not made with other reservations, to the effect that the Indians' right to the land did not include a right to the minerals. The Indians were considered to have, under the United States, exactly the rights they had had under Mexico and, since they had never done any mining, mining rights were not included.

From this time the process of Americanization proceeded as on other reservations. By 1931, the reservation had four government schools and nine mission schools, with 974 pupils. There was a

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hospital at Sells and a tuberculosis sanatorium being built at San Xavier. There was an Indian policeman paid by the government and minor offenses were heard before Indian judges and punished in the reservation jail. An Indian stockman, paid by the government, superintended the sale of Indian cattle to the best advantage. Deep wells had been drilled at several of the summer villages so that the people need not use an insanitary pond nor fetch water from a distance.

The Papago were still supplementing their earnings by working for the Pimas and the Mexicans of Sonora, but a settlement of them had grown up in Tucson where they worked as house servants and gardeners for the Whites. At Ajo, just off the reservation to the west, there had grown up a copper mine where as many as 600 of them were sometimes employed at one time. They were still reported as agriculturalists, most families on the reservation raising enough for their own use and some having a surplus for barter at the store. Cattle raising had taken the place of hunting and at the south, where cattle had been longest known, there were several large ranchers. Other families had ten head or more and the total number of cattle was very roughly estimated at 20,000. Every man, if possible, had a riding horse, many had wagons and there were perhaps one or two automobiles.

The government had dug deep wells at some of the larger villages so that the constant need for water had been alleviated and, with it some of the movements of the population. The young people spoke English after a fashion though few over thirty spoke other than Papago with a few words of Mexican. They wore Mexican clothes: cowboy regalia for the men, cotton frocks and mantillas for the women. Their houses were the one room structures of wattle and daub so common in Sonora.

In 1933, the leisurely progress of the Papago toward Americanization was suddenly speeded up. Emergency Conservation funds were appropriated for the improvement of the water supply by the drilling of deep wells, installing gasoline pumps, improving springs, digging reservoirs. Trails and truck roads were to be built to make these accessible. Papagos were employed at the work and taught stone masonry, carpentry, machine operating. Almost every man had a chance at day labor for a few months, at the standard pay given to Whites.

In 1935 the Indian Reorganization Act was presented to the Papagos who voted to accept it and produced a constitution. The election of officers is in process at the time of this writing.

It is not the purpose of this paper to follow in detail the rapid and

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complex changes which are shaping the reservation under White influence. Those changes can be better studied after a few years have defined their course, but they can hardly be evaluated without a clear understanding of the culture which formed their background and which is rapidly disappearing under the new stimulus. The following pages present as clear a picture as could be formed in the time available, of the old culture which had remained almost intact for many centuries. The description is in the past, since the extent of its preservation differs from village to village. In many places, it seems almost untouched; in some it has disappeared. The simplest method seems to be to describe it as in the youth of which most informants were telling and to indicate briefly at the end of the paper the direction and the amount of change.

2: Underhill T-5 (1931-1935)1934 NUSA Papago NUSA

622 government centers around an official whose mention has been delayed till the last because he differs, both in function and attitude from the old priestly leaders, who are completely out of touch with the new conditions. This is the secular leader, called by the Whites the chief, and by the Indians kovenal (governor). His function according to the governor of Archie, is to "keep up the morals of the village, deal with offenders and talk with the Whites." He is definitely an executive and, until the establishment of judges under the Indian service, he had police power. He is at present the most important person in the village, completely overshadowing the ceremonial officers and sometimes achieving dictatorship. Is his office also aboriginal or can it be traced, like those of the Pueblo governors, to a Spanish origin?

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The writer has discussed this question with many of the old men, particularly the governors and has been given the statement: "The Mexicans (or Spaniards? Papago makes no distinction.) told us to choose a man to take care of the people. At first we chose the Keeper of the Meeting but it was too much work, so we took another man."

Kino, in his various excursions, was accompanied by a representative of the Spanish crown who distributed to the natives canes of office.[1] That was undoubtedly the origin of the governor's office in the form it has today, for one of the governor's titles is u-saliom (staff bearer) and the staff enters prominently into his installation ceremony. The question is whether Kino delivered his staves to men who already had an office of a similar sort. Certainly he picked leaders of some kind to receive the honor and he generally speaks of them as chiefs.[2] Many seem to be chiefs over several villages, which would confirm the idea that there were, at that time as now, daughter villages subject to the parent.[3] But readers of Spanish accounts know that they must make allowance for the powers attributed to the Indian chiefs by the writers. Some of the Sóba Jípuri chiefs and captains mentioned by Kino (who uses the title indiscriminately) are definitely leaders in war[4] which was never the function of the governor. One conjectures that, with these people who were the bulwark against the Apache, the office of war leader may have grown important with use, as it did with Montezuma. Chief Soba, however, was leading his forty people on a food-gathering expedition,[5] a function quite possible for the

[1] Bolton, 1936, pp. 395, 398.
[2] Bolton, 1936, pp. 365, 396.
[3] Bolton, 1936, pp. 365, 367; Mange pp. 248, 249, 254.
[4] Bolton, 1936, p. 361. [5] Mange, p. 220.

2: Underhill E-S (1931-1935)299 NUSB Papago NUSB

Keeper of the Meeting. To combat Kino's picture of the all powerful chiefs, we have the statement by Velarde whose view was that of a resident rather than that of a traveller: 622 175

"They have no government, laws or traditions and, in each village, no authority but the one who talks the most and incites them to fight against the enemy nations or who gives the signal for the time to hunt. There are prominent men who gain a following and whom the Spaniards call chiefs but they have no formal authority."[1]

Other Uto Aztecans, the Mission Indians, the Paiute, and the Hopi were without a secular leader[2] and it seems possible that the Papago office has developed as the need for it grew.

By a decree of Philip III, in 1618, every reduced Indian pueblo was to have an *alcalde* (mayor) and two *regidores* (judges). If it had more than eighty people, the number of officers was doubled.[3] The mayor was to enforce Spanish customs. He could punish the people for drunkenness or for failure to attend mass by one day in prison or by six to eight stripes — a completely un-Indian punishment. But he was to leave to the "cacique", the ancient Indian leader anything outside the "mita" or enforced service of the Indians.

As time went on, other Indian officers were provided for and a "reformed" pueblo was set up on the model of a Spanish village. A decree of the Royal Court of Guadalajara, in 1768, provided for governor, *alcalde*, *topiles* (policemen), war captain and *fiscal*, the church officer who took charge of tithes and marriages.[4] These are the officers of the modern Mexican village, so well established in their function that it is impossible to look behind them to any aboriginal organization. The royal representatives seem to have attempted something of this sort with the Pimans, for Kino mentions an assemblage at one of his Mexican missions of "the principal *cacipues* and headmen of all this Pimeria and, from the most remote parts of it, "ten captains, twenty governors and twenty-six other justices, *alcaldes*, *topiles* (policemen), *fiscales mayores* (head church officers) *alguaciles* (sheriffs) and *fiscales ordinarios* (minor church officers)".[5] In the San Pedro valley, he gave many staves of "governors, justices and captains,"[6] and he frequently

[1] Velarde, Sec. 2, p. 134.
[2] Appendix II.
[3] Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias, Madrid, 1756 II, p. 198.
[4] Rudo Ensayo, pp. 236—8, Doc. Hist. III, vol. 4, 502.
[5] Bolton, 1936, p. 391.
[6] Bolton, 1919, vol. I, p. 171.

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was guided on his trips by Indian "justices".[1] Just how universal the system of appointments was, he does not say, but the complexity of organization probably depended on the size of the town since the "very great rancheria of Adid" received a governor, chief *fiscal* and sheriff, while Anegam and Bitter Wells received only one cane apiece.[2] But if the Piman villages once had a complete outfit of officials, they lost them in subsequent years and there remained only the governor whose functions as leader and judge were so like those of the old Keeper of the Meeting that the people found them easy to accept. Governor and Keeper existed and still exist, side by side, but the governor, on account of his connection with the Whites, continued to grow in importance, while the Keeper subsided. The governor is now the village dictator and it takes inquiry before the existence of a Keeper can be established.

The governor had an assistant, sometimes more than one, called his Leg. He was generally a young relative, chosen by the governor himself and trained as his successor. He can hardly be thought of as a lieutenant governor for his duties were the menial ones of carrying the messages and doing the whipping. Still, he was sometimes inaugurated with the same solemn speeches and warnings as were given the governor (40).

The governor attained office in various ways. The decree of 1933, mentioned above, provided that the Indian officials should be elected every year in the presence of the parish priest. But the Papago villages (except Bac) had no parish priest and they soon relapsed into their traditional method of choosing an official by heredity, subject to the approval of the villagers, and holding office for life. The different villages, in time, worked out slightly different methods. At Kaka, "the elders gathered around the fire and talked until they settled on a man wise, kind-hearted and brave" (41). At Santa Rosa, the governor selected his successor just as did the Keeper of the Meeting. He would announce his selection by standing up in full council meeting and pointing his staff of office at the candidate. Then the elders must approve and, on the rare occasions when they did not, another man must be suggested (15). At present, there is a growing tendency to elect the governor though, in consonance with old custom, the first candidate thought of is generally a descendant of the former incumbent. Two new settlements, Imikah and Burnt Saddle, had governors appointed for them by the representative of the Indian Office and the docility with which these were accepted supports the idea of the governorship as a foreign institution.

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 284.

[2] Bolton, 1936, p. 398.

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The governor had, sometimes, a very formal installation. At Archie, the former governor, if still living, handed him the staff of office, with a formal speech of admonition. Then each of the elders, in turn admonished him: "You will have a hard time. The people will not agree with you. But we have chosen you as one who will do right" (40). Most northern villages seem to have had the same ceremony but in Mesquite Root and Cowlic the badge of office was not a staff but a rawhide whip. A whipping post was set up in front of the governor's house and he was expected to chastise offenders. This is an institution not found in the north nor among the Pima. Out of harmony with the usual Papago practice whose only punishment is public disapproval, it points to a Spanish tradition. Church records mention whipping as the regular punishment for Indian neophytes around a church settlement and the missionaries were sometimes accused by laymen of choosing the most cruel of the Indians as governors in order to maintain discipline.[1]

But, however the governor was installed, his appointment was not ratified until he had journeyed to Hermosillo, the Sonoran capital to "get his power." How ancient this practice is, there is no means of telling, for Papago makes no distinction between Spaniard an Mexican and knows nothing of Mexico's war of independence. Orozco y Berra mentions it in 1848 as a long established practice[2] and the Papago informants confirm it.

In 1854 the Americans came into power and their representative[3] summoned all the existing chiefs to be informed of the change of government. The San Xavier calendar stick has a long record of the occurrence.[4] They met at San Xavier and those present were: Many Skirts, for Archie; the Gambler, for Mesquite Root; Green Mesquite, for Kaka; At-the-Base-of-the-Sunset, for Anegam and Gold Ears, for Tecalote. All these were confirmed in office and Archie was given the hegemony. From this date, the succession of chiefs is known and their authority very much enhanced.

These appointments cover only five main villages whereas there were already eleven. The custodian of the calendar stick says that several of the five considered themselves overlords over two or three villages. Thus the Archie jurisdiction included Santa Rosa, Komarik and Akchin and Kaka included Kupk and Hikiwanyi. There were

[1] Cassio, quoted in Bancroft V, 1, 571.
[2] Orozco y Berra, p. 346.
[3] Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, Vol. II, p. 544.
[4] Underhill, 1938, p. 25.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

622 small federations existing and indicating, perhaps, that the leading
● 175 village had been the parent of the others. But the whole of Papa-
613 gueria was never federated except in theory. The American idea of government demanded that there should be one head chief for all the Papago and Archie claimed the position. "But Gold Ears of Tecalote never had anything to do with the Archie chief.. His village was not related and so he ruled by himself" (40). This indicates how little weight the head chieftainship had with the Papago. After the death of Many Skirts, Con Quien of Mesquite Root wished to be considered the head chief and was so spoken of by some of the White settlers but "the people did not follow him."

622 With the recent forming of daughter villages, several new governorships have arisen, each subsidiary to the rule of its mother village. Standing Rock was colonized from Mesquite Root and regarded that town as its superior until it was abandoned; the colonists turned to Archie, related to Mesquite Root. Tobacco Mountain in the Archie valley had no chief until one of its leading residents was constituted chief, out of hand, by the representative of the United States government (2), but he also is considered subordinate to Archie. Finally he took two or three other settlements under his wing. One of them, San Isidro, now feels itself large enough to have a chief of its own and has picked a man who will be submitted to Archie for approval. When Imikah, near Hikiwanyi, was settled, the Indian agent again asked one of the residents to act as chief but the chief of Hikiwanyi considers him a subordinate and countermands his orders when he disagrees. The system by which the governor of the main village is the superior of those in the daughter villages must be a firmly entrenched one since it holds good, even against the prestige of American appointments.

The governor can be deposed if he is "not good for the people." According to the governor of San Pedro, the elders meet in his absence and make the decision, then one of them calls on him privately and invites him to "take a rest. Some one else will do the work."

622 The governor, in spite of a growing importance, is supposedly
623 subject to the will of the council. This fact was used when the famous Hunter claim came before the supreme court in 1910. The governor of Santa Rosa had signed a deed giving half the land of the village to a certain Hunter in payment for legal services. The court ruled on the evidence that no one man was entitled to sign for the whole village and the governor had no such power.

622 The office of governor, starting perhaps from the informal leadership of "him who talked the most" has come to be the pivot of present day Papago organization. The White authorities who are

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A PAPAGO WOMAN

FOREWORD

THE Papago Indians live on three reservations in the southwest corner of Arizona, near the Mexican border. They belong to the Piman-Sonoran language group and are, in language and descent, identical with the Pima whom they call River People, while they themselves are Desert People. Both were found by the Spaniards in the country they now occupy, which extends from the Gila River in Arizona to the Altar River in Sonora, and which once constituted the ancient Spanish province of Upper Pimeria.

The first important contact of the Whites with Pimeria was at the end of the seventeenth century when the famous missionary, explorer, and business executive, Father Kino established his chain of missions in the Altar Valley. He made a few extensions into the present Arizona, notably at San Xavier, near the present Tucson, and he also toured the whole of Pimeria, not once but many times, distributing cattle and seeds, and baptizing the people with Spanish names. It was in his day that the Papago learned to spend the rainless and hungry winters at the pleasant Altar missions, learning the eighteenth century Spanish methods of farming, which some of them practise to this day.

But the desert country did not attract Spanish colonization. After Kino's time, such Spanish traits as reached the Papago were adopted after their yearly visits to Mexico, rather than forced on them by close contact. Pimeria adhered technically to the Spanish colonial system by which the head man of each village was elected by the people and confirmed in office by the provincial governor. But the lieutenant governor, the sheriff, and the church officers who should have completed the picture, were nonexistent. Church services were a form, continued side by side with the ancient ceremonies which persisted with a vitality impossible in the subjugated provinces of Mexico.

This condition of slow acculturation persisted until the Gadsden purchase in 1853. With this change, Pimeria was cut violently in two, the new international boundary running through its lower portion, the home of the Papago, and leaving half of them in the United States and half in Mexico. It was to Mexico that the Papago felt allegiance, for their desert country was still forbidding to both miners and ranchers, and they were left to follow their old customs almost unmolested. Not so with the Pima. Their fertile land, along the Gila, was directly in the track of the gold rush, the trappers, and the Apache fighters. The Pima supplied all these travellers with grain, and early established a relationship which made for swift acculturation not to Mexican standards but to American.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Chapter II

UP TO THE PRESENT

FEW Papago know the story of their tribe even during the last few centuries. No longer do the old people tell stories of the past as a regular part of family gatherings on the long winter nights. Today the ancient stories are told only by request—the tale of how the Papago came to their country, the legends of their early life on the desert, and scarcely less often are heard accounts of the more recent Apache raids and the new dispersal of the people. The young and the middle-aged live in the present and look—sometimes hopefully, sometimes anxiously—toward the future. Now, despite their tribal pride, few have more than a sketchy acquaintance with the time before their grandparents or even before their own parents; hence, some of the history given here is not known to most of the Desert People themselves, though parts of it come directly from them.

Papago history may be divided into four periods. The first is prehistoric and is known mainly from archeological remains. Then follows a hiatus which, as yet, no one has been able to fill. The second known period is that of sporadic contacts with Spanish missionaries and soldiers and of the struggle against the Apache, with a slow adjustment to certain new ideas but little change in the basic culture. The third era might be called "the early reservation period," when contact with the Indian Service began. During this time the Apache wars ended, contact with a foreign culture was slightly accelerated, and a redistribution of the population began. The fourth and last period, beginning about 1933, might be called "the new era." It is the period of more intense contact with white culture, of the beginning of public works and wage work in the Civilian Conservation Corps, of the acceptance of the Indian Reorganization Act, and of a quickened cultural change. Through these four periods we will briefly trace the course of Papago history—a course that is probably unique among American Indian tribes in its comparative freedom from conflict with land-greedy whites.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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172 same people for many centuries. The occupants of Ventana Cave grew the same type of corn a thousand years ago. This suggests a continuity of the Hohokam culture through the Papago, because new immigrants would almost certainly have brought in some new strains of corn.

SPANIARD AND APACHE

● 175 797 The second period of Papago history begins with the first journey of the Jesuit priest, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, through Papaguería in 1698. It ends shortly after 1870, when the Papago came under the nominal control of the Indian Agent on the Pima Reservation. These one hundred and seventy-five years coincide roughly with the duration of the Apache wars.

More than a century before Father Kino's arrival at the border of Papaguería, Jesuit priests, in company with soldiers and civil officials of Spain, had started their work on the northwestern coast of Mexico. In some places the conquest was cruel and bloody; in others the priests and soldiers were welcomed. Slowly they advanced northward, "reducing" the Indians in one river valley after another. In 1687 Kino finally reached the region that is now northern Sonora, where he settled and established missions.[5] Kino looked toward the north as the great unknown, and he heard about bands of Apaches to the east who had already begun to raid the villages along the San Pedro and Santa Cruz rivers. Eventually he was able to explore this country to the north of him, making several journeys through the heart of Papaguería.

Father Kino was quite aware that he was meeting Indians of more than one tribe on his travels, even though the tribes were much alike culturally and spoke closely related dialects. In his journal and reports he mentions five different groups with whom he visited. They all spoke dialects of the Piman language. These groups were, as he called them: (1) the "Pima proper," who lived nearest the Spanish settlements in northern Sonora, on the upper waters of the several rivers which head there; (2) the Sobaípuri (or Soba y Jípuri), north of the "Pima proper" along the San Pedro and Santa Cruz rivers; (3) the Gileño, along the Gila River to Gila Bend; (4) the "Papago" in the desert between these rivers as far west as the Growler Mountains; and (5) the Soba, along the Lower Altar and San Ignacio rivers and the Gulf of California coast[6] (see Map II). It has been estimated that the Papago as a whole (including all these groups) numbered about 10,000 in 1700.[7] Some of these people Kino saw only briefly; with others he had a long acquaintance.

5. The portion of history dealing with Father Kino and the Jesuits is taken largely from Herbert Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, chaps. xiv–xxx.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 246–48. See pp. 66 ff. for present distribution of these groups.

7. Carl Sauer, *Aboriginal Population of Northwestern Mexico*, p. 32.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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UP TO THE PRESENT

All too little was written by Father Kino and Manje, his military companion, about the way of life of the people they found on their journeys through Papaguería. They tell instead of how these Indians welcomed the priest with "arches and crosses" (which they had learned from Indians whom Kino had already visited) and begged for instruction and baptism. Kino does mention that these Indians had abundant food supplies of corn and beans and

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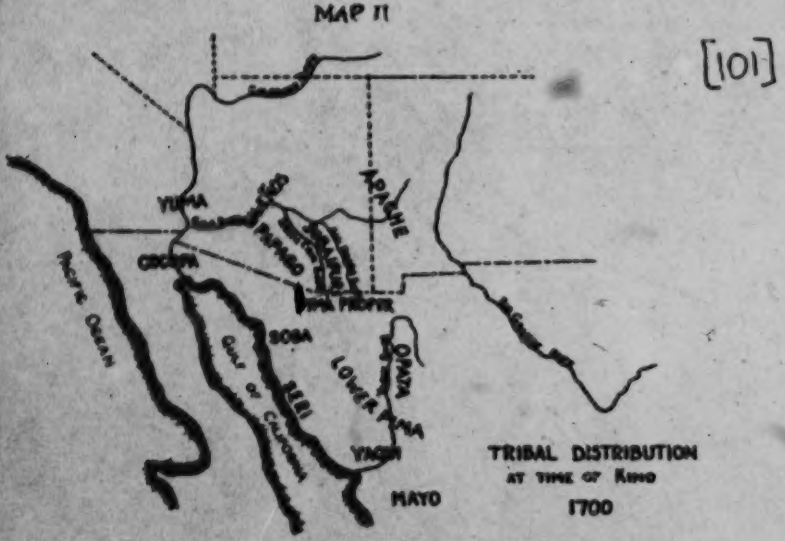

DISTRIBUTION OF PIMAN PEOPLES AND SURROUNDING TRIBES ABOUT 1700

large villages with headmen. The neighboring Sobaípuri and the Pima on the Gila River, he said, had chiefs, each of whom controlled more than one village.

The Spaniards' trips were hurried, with little more than one-day stops at even the largest villages, during which they spoke to the people about God and the king of Spain and baptized the young children and the sick. In some places they appointed governors and other officials for the villages and gave them canes of office in the name of the king of Spain.[8] The people were friendly and helpful. They always begged Kino to come again.

8. Some people say that the Spanish at some time appointed seven governors who were under a head governor at Gu Achi, an organization which apparently was not very effective (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Code of Laws of the Papago Tribe* and *Annual Statistical Report, Sells Agency . . . 1935*, p. 35).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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He did intend to come again, or to send others, to found missions. For this purpose, and to provision his own expeditions, he sent many herds of horses and cattle ahead and supplied the people with seeds to plant wheat. But no missions were ever founded in the Papago country north of the border.

To the south were established Dolores (Kino's headquarters), Magadalena, San Ignacio, Caborca, Pitaquito, Oquitoa, Tubatama, Sáric, Ootcam near Pozo Verde (just across the present international border at the tip of the Baboquivari Mountains), and Sonóita (on the present border at the western edge of the Papago country). The Pima, Soba, and Papago of this southern territory were fairly thoroughly missionized, although there were occasional uprisings. Three missions were also founded among the Sobaípuri along the fertile Santa Cruz River, the main north-and-south route. These missions—San Gabriel de Guébavi, San Cayetano de Tumacácori, and San Xavier del Bac—were short-lived but were re-established later.

Kino's vision of missions among the Papago proper never materialized. He cultivated the people as much as he could, realizing that they were a bulwark against the marauding Apache, and he gave them cattle, horses, wheat and other seeds, baptism, and a glimpse of Catholicism. But he did not bring about the great change in their culture which the missionized Indians experienced. His influence was felt mainly in the southern and eastern portions of Papaguería.

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Primarily it was the Apache who kept the Papago free from Spanish influence. Before Kino's arrival the Apache had been plunderers, but, after he came, they acquired horses, giving them a wider range and the means of swifter attack. The danger to the Papago increased tenfold. The Apache moved far toward the west, forcing the Sobaípuri before them out of the San Pedro and Santa Cruz valleys.[9] The Apache also occupied the mountains to the north, cutting off the trade route between the Pima and Hopi. Their raids extended far down into Sonora and to villages in the western part of the present Papago Reservation. Kino, after continuous appeals to the Spanish officials, was able to establish two defense stations with soldiers, who fought in co-operation with the Sobaípuri and Papago against the Apache, but this did not stop the raids. After Kino died in 1711, Spanish efforts to repel the marauders almost ceased. They remained a menace until finally subdued by the United States Army in 1885.

The Apache raids had extensive effects on the Papago. It is most probable

9. Some had already started to move west in Kino's time (Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 395). The mission at Guébavi was abandoned in 1784; that at Tumacácori in 1820 or 1825 (Gerard Decorme, *Obra de los jesuitas mexicanos*, p. 430).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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that before this time the Papago had lived in rather small villages, spending the summer in the valleys where they planted and harvested their crops, in the winter returning to the mountains where the water supply was assured. As their homes were threatened, they began to abandon the small settlements and to gather together into large defense villages, building forts and terracing the hills, though they still had to follow their migratory cycle in order to exist. They had to learn to live closer together and to co-operate among themselves and between villages in fighting the night attackers. They began, too, to develop supernatural sanctions for fighting and killing the Apache, a system of beliefs and practices which was of vital importance for survival in that period. A few of these beliefs still remain.

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Not much is known of the Papago for a number of years after Kino's death in 1711. The Apache continued to raid. The Papago protected themselves as best they could and at the same time learned to utilize the horses and cattle they had acquired: horses simplified their transportation problem, and cattle added a source of meat. The wheat added to their food supply—when it was not burned or stolen by the enemy.

Missionaries were few in northern Sonora, for the life and problems were difficult. For about thirty years the Papago saw no priest, though work was revived along the Santa Cruz and the missions of San Gabriel de Guébavi and San Xavier del Bac were refounded in 1732. In 1736 Father Sedelmayr went to Tubutama. He wrote that many Papago came to work for him, reconstructing the old missions; they were nothing but skin and bones when they arrived, but they left "fat and instructed." This Father made two trips through the Papago country. In 1752 there was an uprising of the Lower Pima and southern Papago against the Spanish. It was bloody but short-lived, and thereafter the Indians were not so docile or so friendly toward the whites.

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After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans took up their work. Between 1769 and 1774 Father Garces made three trips to the desert, recommending the founding of two missions. One stone-and-mud chapel was built east of the Santa Rosa Mountains, and the Father from San Xavier visited there infrequently prior to 1827.

It is possible that during this period the Sonora Catholic church, a sect without organization or official connection, had its beginning among the Papago. For its devotees, religion was an individual matter of owning pictures of saints and saying prayers—in short, of worshiping as well as they knew how in the Catholic way, learned from brief observation and practice. The Catholic missionary procedure is not to eradicate former religions but rather to reinterpret them. In this case, the Fathers had little opportunity even to reinterpret,

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4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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175 794 and elements of Catholicism were incorporated by the people themselves into the whole set of existing religious and ceremonial practices.

175 In addition to domestic animals and crops, which permitted an easier existence in the desert, and a brief glimpse of the Catholic religion, the Papago took from the whites during this period two social institutions, the governor and the whipping post.[10] It is probable that the Papago villages had had headmen before the arrival of the Spaniards, and they certainly had ceremonial leaders, but concentration of power in one official as the Spaniards knew it was alien to Papago character; hence the appointed governors had little power. Whippings were administered as often for violations of Papago ceremonial tradition as for offenses against Spanish law. In any case, the basic institutions of the Papago—the family and the village—were untouched by anything introduced from Spain.

It was the thirty years of revolution which culminated in Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, rather than direct Spanish social influence, that brought about the farthest reaching changes in the Desert People. In the southern part of the present Reservation area, these years, as Underhill remarks, "involved as much change for the Papago as the century preceding. There was skirmishing in Papago country; Papagos were given guns, horses and food for their help against counter revolutionists and against the Apache; Papago villages were broken up and there was racial intermixture. This affected only the south of the area, part of which is now in Mexico. But where it occurred, it was a potent factor in breaking up residence, causing the loss of clan affiliations and even of clan names and the abandonment of ceremonies because there were no longer villages to conduct them. It seems to have been at this period that the southerners began to build Mexican houses of wattle and daub."[11]

In the northern part of Papaguería there was not much change until contacts [211] with Americans began. On a calendar stick[12] is mentioned a "war with Mexicans" in 1842[13] and several raids by Apache, but the Gadsden Purchase in 1854 went almost unnoticed, the Indians scarcely realizing that their land was being cut through by a border survey. For almost two decades they were largely unaware that they had officially become "Americans."

10. This paragraph and the following are largely from Ruth Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, pp. 201 ff.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

12. A narrow stick, a yard or more long, on which are carved geometric designs to remind the owner of specific events. Usually one outstanding event of each year is recorded, but some years are not represented. The stick referred to here was recorded by Mrs. L. C. Bennett from a man at Covered Wells, who inherited it and its story from his grandfather.

13. See H. H. Bancroft, *History of North Mexican States and Texas*, p. 639.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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UP TO THE PRESENT

EARLY RESERVATION DAYS

The third period of tribal history begins in the early 1870's when the Papago were placed under the jurisdiction of the Indian Agent on the Pima Reservation. In the beginning of this period the Desert People were still living almost as they had before they ever saw white men. At the end of it (about 1933) many individuals had already made an adjustment to white culture, and they foresaw that the tribe as a whole would also have to make a similar adaptation. 175

When the Apache wars ended, far-reaching changes began for the Papago. According to the calendar stick, in 1872 "the Apache were civilized," and in 1876 "the Papago made peace with the Apache." Actually the Apache were not subdued until 1885, when Geronimo surrendered to General Nelson A. Miles, but after the 1870's the marauders were kept busy by the American troops. No longer forced to protect themselves in the large defense villages (there seem to have been about eleven of them),[14] the Papago once again began to spread out. Many returned to the villages where their fields were and took up again the old cycle of planting and harvesting, going back to the mountain villages when the ponds went dry. Others, in search of new fields or better stocked hunting grounds, sought new sites as they still do today. It was usually a small group of close relatives who established these new villages, and that is why almost all the people in a village are related. The old people still know the defense villages from which their parents or grandparents came, but the relation between defense villages and modern settlements is not yet entirely clear, particularly in the western part of the Reservation. 175 361

In interpreting the relation between defense and later villages, it is important to note that, in general, the people from each of the centers seem to have a distinct dialect accompanied by certain character and cultural traits recognized by all the Papago. Specifically, there are six dialect groups on the Reservation living in definable areas. The people speaking each of these dialects came from one defense center, in some cases two or three neighboring centers. There are also people who speak what is recognized as a mixture of two contiguous dialects, and several of these mixed dialect groups also had their own defense centers. To judge from the cohesiveness of the dialect groups, they must have long felt themselves to be distinct entities. 175 197

There were other movements among the Papago during this period. The

14. J. W. Hoover, "Genetic Descent of Papago Villages." Hoover also includes Quitovac as a "mother village" (as he calls the defense villages) of the "Sand Papago," but the villages descendent from Quitovac probably represent a migration into the United States rather than an effect of the vanquishing of the Apache.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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There were other movements among the Papago during the period. The
175 date is uncertain, but perhaps around 1780 a group of Indians who were forced
166 out of land along the Santa Cruz River north of Tucson settled near Kohatk or Sif Oidak and spread out from there; these people today are a distinct dialect group. At some time, perhaps after the Apache raid of 1848, it appears that the Sobaípuri left the old village of Bac where the Mission of San Xavier had been established,[15] and this village and the surrounding rich river lands were repeopled by Papago from the village of Achi.[16] As white people also coveted this land at San Xavier, in 1874 it was made a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Indian Agent on the Pima Reservation. In 1880 the people from Ahak Owuchi (Horn Lying) in the northwestern part of the present reservation migrated to work on the railroad at Gila Bend and stayed on the land along the Lower Gila River; a small area there was made a reservation in 1882. Others from the same village went to Akchin on the Maricopa Reservation.

Another movement was that of the Papago from Mexico to the United States. The missionized Papago (Kino's "Pima proper") intermixed with the general Mexican population, except for a fairly large group which maintained its identity and moved north. This was probably a progressive movement, over many years, started by the pressure of Mexicans settling in the Magdalena and Altar valleys and continuing as ranchers took over the range and water holes closer and closer to the border.[17] It is known that many people now living in the southern part of the Reservation (also a distinct dialect group) were born in Mexico.

Another migration in the early 1920's was that of the "Sand Papago" from the area around Sonoita into the southern Gu Vo District around Menager's Dam. The Sand Papago, who may once have been the Soba who moved north, had settled mainly around Sonoita, Ajo, and Yuma.

Thus the period was one of stir and movement. Today, ruins of many villages on the Reservation are silent proofs of these movements, but our knowledge of them remains nebulous.

In addition to these permanent moves, the Papago began to change the pattern of their old seasonal migrations. They had always lived in an economy of scarcity, and in bad years food was likely to be very scarce indeed. It was per-

15. *Ibid.*, p. 259. It has been suggested that the Sobaípuri, after having been pushed from the San Pedro to the Santa Cruz River by the Apache, moved on farther west and joined the Gileños to form what is now the Pima tribe on the Gila River.

16. Underhill (*Papago Calendar Record*, p. 16) says that the Soba Jipan were decimated by disease and that the Papago moved in afterward.

17. There are traditions of actual fighting between Papago and Mexicans in the 1870's and 1880's, though earlier fighting has been mentioned.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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haps in this period that Papago from the northern villages began to go up to the Pima country to help the Pima harvest their abundant crops of wheat, while those in southern villages went to the ranches in Sonora. The young people of today say that their grandparents went on these treks in their youth.[18] These contacts with Mexicans and Pima are still evident on the Reservation, and some Papago say that Spanish prayers and fiestas, with their Mexican music and instruments, were introduced among the Desert People at this time.

About 1880, prospectors began to discover copper, silver, and gold in the Papago country. Many small mines were opened in this area, and mining towns at Quijotoa and Jackrabbit in the central and north-central parts of the present Reservation are said to have attained populations of five or six thousand, with regular stagecoach service, post offices, and at least one county school. The Indians watched this influx with both fear and interest. Some of them moved in to work in the mines; others moved away. Though most of the mines were abandoned after ten or fifteen years, the Indians benefited by the miners' improvements of springs and wells. The great mine at Ajo, which was opened at about the same time, has remained in operation, as have a few small mines in the area.

Not long after the miners, ranchers began to see possibilities in the Papago land. Several moved in and established large cattle ranches, one on an old Spanish land grant. Another rancher, who claimed that the Indian chief at Gu Achi had deeded to him in 1880 all the land bounded by the Santa Cruz, the Gila, and the Colorado rivers and the border, sold portions of that huge territory for large sums of money, gambling on the chance that the Supreme Court would validate his claims. The Court did not do so.[19] Some Indian villages were endangered by various other white encroachments, and, to protect them, reservations were created in 1911 and 1912 in three small sections in the northern part of the present Reservation, and one under Baboquivari Peak.

For the most part Papago lands are still the property of the tribe as a whole. In 1891 the Allotment Act, by which Indian lands were allotted to individuals, was applied to the San Xavier Reservation, but not until 1911 was a move made to allot other Papago lands. At this time sections around the principal eastern Papago villages were apportioned into individual holdings of 160 acres on a township-and-range basis, with no regard for hills, washes, or usability of the land. It was fortunate that only one out of 2,700 proposed allotments

18. In 1940–49 the people from Gu Achi and Havasu Nakya went to Mexico to harvest beans (Underhill, *Papago Calendar Record*, p. 20).

19. Sells Agency Files, No. 360. "Papago Indian Lands—Arizona."

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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175 423 was approved before allotment activities ceased in this area in 1912; otherwise the same confusion would have resulted among the Papago as is common on many reservations.[20] As it was, the proposed divisions started feuds and factions among the people.

These various and sporadic attempts to protect Papago land and resources against white encroachment and to establish Indian ownership after the white fashion covered a period of more than forty years. It then became apparent that such a haphazard system offered no protection to the main body of the tribe who lived outside the reserved areas. In 1917 a reservation was established to include most of the land now occupied by the tribe except "the Strip," which separated the northern third of the area from the southern part. In 1931 this land was purchased, and in 1938 an area to the southwest known as Menager's Tract was bought. These and several smaller additions brought the Reservation to its present size of 4,500 square miles. With all their lands thus formally designated as a reservation, the Papago acquired the rights, protection, and inconveniences with which most other Indians in the United States had long since been acquainted.

175 872 184 One of the usual features of reservation life—education for Indian children—was not new to the Papago. Since about 1890 there had been opportunities to go to non-Reservation boarding schools operated by the government and various church groups. A surprising number of adults on the Reservation today spent five or ten years in the Presbyterian mission school in Tucson or at a government Indian school in Phoenix, Arizona, Grand Junction, Colorado, Chilocco, Oklahoma, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, or Riverside, California. Since these students came largely from the southern and eastern districts of the Reservation, many of the people in these districts can speak English. The area is "progressive" in American ways and supplies many of the leaders of the tribe, who have some understanding of Western culture. The majority of these students came home and made a satisfactory adjustment, "returning to the blanket" in that they reintegrated themselves with the old culture, but also bringing back with them certain new values which are obvious today. This amalgamation of new and old makes the eastern and southern districts different from the western and central sections, where none of the older generation ever went away to school. With the establishment of the Agency at Sells in 1917, the first government day school was founded. This brought the problem of schools very close to home—often in the face of strong local opposition.

20. On the small San Xavier Reservation, for instance, most of the allotments are at present in heirship difficulties, and one individual's share runs as small as 1/250 of an acre (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Progress, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 4).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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UP TO THE PRESENT

The new Papago Agency began to have other marked effects on the life of the Desert People: wells were dug in several villages; the hospital was built; the Indian court was established. The Indians did not like some of the agents and their policies and did not hesitate to say so. In one case they organized politically and fought an agent so successfully that he was removed (see chap. vii).

This period saw also a renewal of Catholic missionary work which had lapsed during the nineteenth century. For several years after 1908, brief trips were made to Gu Achi by various Roman Catholic priests who were stationed on the Pima Reservation. In 1915 a resident priest was given jurisdiction over the area, and he made his headquarters near Ko Vāya (Cobabi). In 1923 Father Bonaventure Oblasser moved the headquarters to Topawa. One or sometimes two priests served the Reservation for the next decade, carrying on the work of the church and directing its mission schools, which were taught by young Papago. Visits were seldom made to the westernmost part of the Reservation, and it was not until the 1930's that an increase of personnel brought an expansion of Catholic missionary work.

Systematic Protestant missions to the Papago started in 1910, when a Presbyterian missionary began to make regular trips to the Reservation.[21] By 1912 a church and school of that denomination were established at Indian Oasis, which is now Sells. Two years later a church and school were set up at San Miguel, and, in 1920, churches were built in Vamori and Topawa. Some older Sonora Catholics were converted; often their children were in boarding school, and word was sent that the children should now attend Presbyterian Sunday school instead of Catholic services. The third generation of Presbyterians is now beginning to grow up, and the membership, a minority on the Reservation, remains mostly in the families of the eastern districts who were first converted. Today many of the most active tribal leaders are of this faith.

THE NEW ERA

The two main causes of the changes that took place in the fourth period of Papago history, which began in the early 1930's, are the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Indian Reorganization (Wheeler-Howard) Act. These changes have been accelerated to a great extent by World War II.

21. The Papago say that about 1900 some Mormons came to Topawa and "dipped" a few people; they did not continue their missionary efforts, and the Papago who had been converted to the Mormon faith later became Presbyterians. About the same time, one Papago informant says, a few Indians were converted by a Negro woman who preached a life of poverty and sharing and called her followers "Israelites." Carl Lumholtz (*New Trails in Mexico*, p. 40) writes that this was a part of a revivalist movement started by the "prophet" Dowie. The converts later became Presbyterians.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

175 657 Civilian Conservation Corps work began in 1933.[22] At first the Papago would not work very willingly on these projects, and the old people opposed the idea of the young men earning money—they predicted correctly that young people would come to disregard parental authority, begin drinking, and get into trouble. However, many of the Papago men, both young and old, became interested in the projects, and before the CCC was liquidated in 1942, about one man in each twenty families was doing CCC work. This was a rather small proportion as compared with some Indian tribes and other sections of the country, but it was a great increase over the initial response. The projects were of practical value to the Reservation as a whole: roads were built to places that had been inaccessible except by horse; *charcos*[23] were put in, and deep wells were drilled, which allowed the people to live the year round in the valley villages. Furthermore, the projects benefited the workers, for they learned new skills and methods which they have since used to some advantage.

175 578 185 Yet neither the public works nor the wage-work economy were accepted wholeheartedly by all the Papago. Some of the villages, particularly those in the western districts, bitterly opposed the improvements, although since then the people have begun to use them. There was disagreement over the use of the water, over individual, community, and government wells, and there were bitter fights with some of the already established Indian cattle owners, who stood by their customary rights. A conflict also arose, as the old men had predicted, from the money that came in as it never had before. Young men could now buy food and need not be tied down to the fields; they could be independent of their fathers, who had previously supplied the knowledge and direction which it took to earn a living. Road construction and the acquisition of cars directly abetted this new independence.

175 657 In 1935 the Indian Reorganization Act was placed before the Papago. The Indians always had village organization (see chap. v); the agents had councils, and there had been purely Indian committees for particular purposes (see chap. vii). But now the whole Reservation was to be organized on a democratic basis, with equal representation in council. When the plan was placed before them, the people approved, though few understood what it meant. Under tutelage of the government and with suggestions from a group of Indian delegates, a constitution was drafted. The Reservation was divided

22. This work, first termed Emergency Conservation Work and subsequently Civilian Conservation Corps—Indian Division, was financed from CCC funds and administered by the Indian Service. It was not limited to young unmarried men and veterans as in other parts of the country but served rather as a general work relief program for Indian men.

23. *Charcos* are natural ponds, deepened and diked.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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into districts, and the boundaries were fenced; elections were held. Since 1937 the Papago Tribal Council has been meeting regularly and handling much of the business of the tribe, with suggestions and guidance from the Agency. The Council still does not have the support of all the Papago, but there is more co-operation now between the people and the federal government, as represented by the Agency, than ever before.

While tribal organization was being changed, the Roman Catholic church reorganized its missions. Instead of one priest for the whole Reservation, there are now six, with two at San Xavier. Sisters came to teach. There is a concerted, yet slow and cautious, effort to bring the Sonora Catholic Papago into the fold of the church and to wean them from some of the older practices, such as the Indian marriage customs. On the surface these efforts seem to be partially successful, but such endeavors take time. In 1943 the Presbyterian missions also began a reorganization.

With the advent of war, Papago were drafted, and both men and women began to leave the Reservation in large numbers to work in the cotton fields, ranches, mines, railroads, and airplane factories. The effect of this new work pattern will be far-reaching. If the people become thoroughly acclimated to wage labor and then suddenly face an economic depression, the effects may be tragic for them as for other minority groups.

With all these forces at work on the Reservation it might well be asked: What is left of Papago culture? A few members of the tribe have become Americanized, but the majority are still very much Papago. The old culture is strong, although it seems on the surface to have changed a great deal. Many of the old customs and beliefs still dominate the peoples' lives today, not because the Papago want to reject new things but just because, to them, the old way is "the way to do things."

Yet there is no rigidity in the Papago adherence to their old ways. Adaptability seems to be a fundamental part of Papago character; indeed, existence in the desert, with its extremes of heat and cold, drought and flood, want and plenty, requires adaptability. From their first contacts with white men, the Desert People began to take from white culture what appealed to them. The white men came as allies, not as conquerors, and there was no catastrophic conflict. The Papago were always fairly secure in the ownership of their land, and no overwhelming force was exerted on them to change their ways, hence there was no reason to close in upon themselves as did the Pueblo and the Yaqui Indians. Thus the Papago were able, without deep emotional conflicts, to add to their own culture many of the values and traits of a foreign way of life. In the following chapters we shall see what the results have been.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 1938-1940 1942
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Pima NU29

Pi Pa 131 the gorge of Ures downstream to well below Hermosillo, but also to the Nacámeri (Rayon) district on the Horcasitas River. This was the Ures group, of whom some had irrigated, others non-irrigated agriculture. Thus these Pimans appropriated the river valleys as far downstream as water was available. The Seri inhabited chiefly the coast. Between the two areas lay a hunting and gathering zone of desert which both groups penetrated, and in which they sometimes clashed.[1]

Pi Pa 135 The first contact of Europeans with the Pima Bajo occured in 1533 when a Spanish expedition under the command of Diego de Guzmán, sent out to continue northward explorations by Nuño de Guzmán, encountered the Nebome group at a site which may be identified with modern Cumuripa, the lowermost Pima village on the Yaqui River.[2] Missionary activity began among the Pima Bajo in 1619, and since that time they have been gradually dying out and little is known in detail of their ancient economy. They did have canal irrigation in suitable places, and cultivated maize, beans, and agave (probably), domesticated the turkey, wove colored cotton clothing, cotton and agave fiber blankets, made deerskin garments, and practiced ceremonial drinking, utilizing among other things the juice of agave and wild grapes.[4]

Pimería Alta, occupied by Pima, Sobaipuri, Soba and Papago, extended from the San Ignacio in Sonora northward to the Gila, and from the San Pedro westward to the Gulf of California and the Colorado. Its northeastern boundary was roughly the limit of the Gila plain abutting against the hills. The upper Gila, as well as upper Salt, Valley was held by the Apache, and there is no evidence that they were ever occupied

[1] Sauer and Brand, *Prehistoric Settlements of Sonora*, pp. 38-41, 85; Beals, *Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico*, pp. 102, 137-60.

[2] Sauer, *Road to Cibola*, pp. 11-13.

[4] Alegre, *op. cit.*, II, 70, 117, 125, 175, 188; Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los Triumphos de Nuestra Santa Fé*, pp. 240-41, 360, 371, 384-85; Obregón's *History of Sixteenth Century Explorations*, pp. 157-58, also: Beals, *loc. cit.*

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
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by Pimans. Since the Pima Alto constituted the northern frontier of Jesuit missionary activity and outpost of Spanish domain against those Apache north of the present international boundary, the resulting greater interest in the nature of their life than that of tribes to the south has yielded much more knowledge of their history.[3] Records left by Kino, Anza, Font, Mange, Velarde and Garcés, and documented by Bolton, Coues, Bandelier, *et al*, have given us a better understanding of this area than any other part of New Spain.

Spanish missionaries first came to the Papago and Gila Pima toward the close of the seventeenth century. Although Pimería Alta had been entered by Fray Marcos, by Melchior Díaz (who had been dispatched overland from Sonora by Coronado to find Alarcón, and whose route evidently ran through the San Miguel Valley, thence down the Magdalena to the Altar and through Papaguería to the Cocopa country at the mouth of the Colorado),[4] and by the main Coronado party in 1539-40, these explorers passed only along its eastern and western borders; it is no longer believed they went down the Santa Cruz Valley. Sauer believes the Coronado party went down the San Pedro River Valley inhabited by Sobaipuri, through the Arivaipa basin then through Eagle Pass between the Pinaleño and Santa Teresa mountains to the Gila River. In the one and one-half centuries between that day and Kino's entrance into Pimería Alta in 1687, Arizona had not been entered from the south by a single recorded expedition. Moreover, so far as is known, not since 1605, when Oñate went from the Hopi country down the Colorado River, had any white man seen the Gila. Hence, the rediscovery and the first interior exploration of Pimería Alta were the work of Kino, although a few of the Upper Pima were

[3] Sauer, *Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes*, pp. 30-3, map; Bolton, *Kino*, I, 30.

[4] Sauer, *Road to Cibola*, pp. 36-8.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
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reduced (converted and settled) earlier from the Opata missions to the south.[7]

When Kino reached the scene of his labors the frontier mission station was at Cucurpe in the valley of the San Miguel. In the east, in Nueva Vizcaya, were the already important *reales*, or mining camps, of San Juan and Bacanuche, and to the south were numerous missions, ranches and mining towns; but in Pimería Alta, beyond a line extending in an arc from a little west of Tuape to a little north of the missions Cucurpe, Bacanuche, Bacoache, Cuchuta and Batepito, almost to 31°, all was to white man untouched and unknown country. This line represented the northern frontier of settlement in 1687. Bolton[8] tells us that in Kino's day the region just north of the present international boundary, between 109° and 110°, was the military frontier, and into it were made numerous forays by Spaniards and Pimans to punish the hostile Apache. Also, that by 1694 more than 100,000 head of stock ranged at Terrenate, Batepito, San Bernardino and Janos, these regions being south of the boundary.

On the edge of this virgin country, about fifteen miles above Cucurpe, in Sonora, Kino founded the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores at the Indian village of Cosari. From here he and his associates pushed the frontier of missionary endeavor and exploration across Pimería Alta to the Gila and Colorado rivers. In 1700 he founded the mission of San Xavier del Bac near Tucson, and within the next two years those of Tumacácori and Guébabi in Arizona.[9]

The Pima Alto

Entering Pimería Alta in 1687, Kino found northern Sonora and the interior south of the Gila occupied by four divisions of the Pimans, who were in the main agricultural

[7] Sauer, *Aboriginal Population of Northwestern Mexico*, p. 29.
[8] Bolton, *Kino*, II, Map of Pimería Alta, 1687-1711.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 50-52.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
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people, those along the Gila, San Pedro, Santa Cruz and Altar growing crops by canal irrigation. The modern delimitation into Pima and Papago was not recognized. Kino's first division comprised the Pimans along the San Pedro, middle Santa Cruz and middle Gila rivers, who were distinguished from those farther south as Sobaipuri, now practically extinct except for traces of their blood still represented in the Pima and Papago. Of these Sobaipuri there were three groups. The first dwelt along the San Pedro from about the present town of Tombstone northward to the Gila, their most southerly settlement being Gaybanipitea; another along the middle Santa Cruz from San Xavier del Bac northward roughly to Picacho, while the middle Gila from the general vicinity of Casa Grande nearly to Gila Bend was occupied exclusively by the third group, at that time called Gila Pimas, and who now for the most part dwell on the Gila River Reservation. Because they are so well known to investigators, they are today designated as the Pima proper, but in Kino's day they were usually referred to as Sobaipuris or Soba y Jipuris.[10]

The second main Piman division, then regarded as the Pima proper, occupied the slopes of the watershed which extends irregularly westward from Huachuca Mountain to Nogales, with villages on the upper waters of the south-flowing Sonora, San Miguel and Cocospora rivers, on the west-flowing Altar down to and including Oquitoa, and down the San Ignacio some distance below the modern city of the same name; also the southern stretches of the north-flowing San Pedro and Santa Cruz. The most northerly Pima settlement on the San Pedro was the village of Huachuca, and on the Santa Cruz that of Tumacácori. (A few lived as far east as Teuricachi Valley, in the vicinity of Cuquiárichi.) Another, the third division of Pimans, early known as the Soba (a term practically equivalent to the name Piato), inhabited the middle and lower Altar, and seemingly the lower San Ignacio

[10] *Ibid.*, I, 50-1, 170, 173, 193n; Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, p. 247; Spier, *Yuman Tribes*, p. 27.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
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Pi in Sonora, with their principal village at Caborca. Bolton Pa states they also dwelt along the Gulf Coast farther west.[11] 175 When Mange[12] visited them in 1694 he described them in the vicinity of Pitiquín and Caborca as having rich irrigated land and growing an abundance of maize, beans and pumpkins.

West of the Sobaipuri and Pimas on both sides of the international boundary was the fourth Piman division, the Papago, or Papabotes as the early Spaniards called them. They are among the tribes which to the present have been least disturbed by white man. More specifically, Papaguería, a term applied to the Papago territory only after the coming of the Spaniards, was that portion of Pimería Alta occupied by the Papago, and comprised the desert area south of the Mexican border well toward but not including the Altar or Santa Cruz valleys, and westward toward the Colorado and the Gulf. Sauer and Brand[13] have pointed out that the eastward extension of the term Papaguería to include the Altar and Santa Cruz valleys is unwarranted, and that it constituted the territory west of the permanent streams, the Sonoita being the only permanent stream in the Papago country of Sonora. Neither valley was Papago territory until after the mission period.

Gifford[14] relates that near Somerton formerly dwelt a small band of Papago who made trips to the Sonoran Gulf Coast, but who were finally exterminated by Mexicans. Maricopa informants told Spier of this group, indicating that they lived in the Yuma desert region. These are, in Spier's[15] opinion, the Sand Papago of Lumholtz,[16] who occupied the desert area east of the Colorado at the head of the Gulf of California and southward to the Rio de Sonoita. Their principal camps were at the waterholes in the Gila and Pinacate

11 Bolton, *loc. cit.*; Sauer, *Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes*, p. 55.
12 Mange, *Luz*, pp. 217, 225.
13 Sauer and Brand, *op. cit.*, p. 96n.
14 Gifford, *The Cocopa*, p. 262.
15 Spier, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.
16 Lumholtz, *New Trails*, pp. 389, 394, map.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
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ranges east and south of the desert, with headquarters at Hótu-nikat. They probably never numbered more than 150, and in the middle of the nineteenth century were attacked by an epidemic which only four families survived. These remaining families retired to other areas, and for the last sixty or seventy years the sand dune country has been practically uninhabited. Underhill[17] conjectures that these people in the sand hills were ancestors of the present very poor Sand Papago who occupy the arid region west of the Ajo Mountains, around Tinajas Altas, Tule Tanks, Papago Tanks and the vicinity of Dome. Similarly Hoover[18] writes of them occupying the forbidding arid region west of the Ajo Mountains, their very existence depending upon knowledge of natural water tanks in the mountains. Also at present several small villages of Sand Papago are located around the town of Ajo and their largest remnant is at Dome and Blaisdell. He asserts that Quitobac, the old head village for the Sonoita Valley, is Sand Papago in kinship. Descendant therefrom was the Papago village at Sonoita, the now extinct village of Tak and the nearly extinct village of Quitobaquito. The village of Sonoita was a favored site as the Sonoita River is here a permanent stream.

Papago and Pima speak the same language, with but slight variations. They are combined under one name, The People, differentiating themselves as Desert People (Papago) and River People (Pima), the designation of River People denoting their dependence upon the Gila. The Papago of Southern Arizona, known in their own language as *toxono o' otam*, Desert People, have been nicknamed *papawi o' otam*, meaning Bean People, a name at one time applied only to the westernmost Desert People living in the barren region on both sides of the present Mexican border. It was not until after the mission period that those changes were initiated which resulted in the formal demarcation of Papago from Pima.

[17] Underhill, *Papago*, p. 20.
[18] Hoover, *Generic Descent of the Papago Villages*, pp. 261-62.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
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At the time of Kino's arrival in the last decade of the seventeenth century, the agricultural settlements of eastern Pimería Alta were still undisturbed, but by the middle of the nineteenth century the distribution of its Indian peoples had changed considerably, largely because of Apache pressure. This was especially true of the northeastern frontier, where Velarde in 1716 reported the Apache established to the south as well as to the north of the Gila. Spier, Underhill, and Bandelier[19] have given some information on such shifting. In general, it may be said that Apache raids, continuing from Kino's day, gained momentum during the early eighteenth century and extended at intervals with increased fury over entire eastern Pimería Alta and far down the Gila. By the middle of the eighteenth century the San Pedro, which had been densely populated by Sobaipuri and Pima, was abandoned to the Apache, and its inhabitants settled in the next valley to the west, the Santa Cruz, which also soon became untenable. In the south, the Altar too was depopulated and agriculture almost came to a standstill. From 1790 to 1815 there was in the southern part of Papaguería a temporary period of peace with the Apache, and finally terrorism from this source was terminated when the Federal Government subdued the Apache in 1874.

As the Apache decimated the villages along these rivers, the desert Papago gradually reoccupied the valleys, particularly the Santa Cruz and the Altar, being increasingly attracted to the rich lands and stable food supply of the missions; this resulted in the present modified distribution of Papago and Pima. The Papago, who previously had come into the Piman settlements along the Altar and Santa Cruz for only short periods to labor in the harvest and receive religious instruction, gradually took over the valley land; this was almost wholly a nineteenth century infiltration. Gradually the Papago became indistinguishable from other Piman groups.

[19] Spier, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9; Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 464.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
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Apache pressure brought about such extensive redistribution of the peoples that today it is very difficult to consider for our purposes the Sobaipuri, Pima, Papago and Soba separately.

The Papago, originally far less numerous than the Pima to the north and east, because of their isolation survived to a much greater degree than did the latter. Sauer[20] is of the opinion that the Papago are nearly as numerous today as they were at the time their area was discovered. He indicates the following population figures for the Pimans aboriginally:

Pima Bajo		25,000
Pima Alto		
On the Mexican side		
Borders of the Opatería	1,000	
Himeri group (those living northwest of the Opáta)	4,000	
Upper Altar	2,000	
Soba group	4,000	
On the American side		
Tumacacori area	1,000	
San Pedro (Sobaipuri of the east)	2,500	
Middle Santa Cruz	4,500	
Gila River	1,000	
Total for Upper Pima proper		20,000
Total for Papago, perhaps		10,000

Sauer indicates an aboriginal population of 25,000 for the Pima Bajo and a total population of 40,000 for the same area in 1920. About three-fifths of the Papago were located on the American side of the border, a ratio increased at present because of the attractions of the American reservations and the amalgamation with the Mexican population of many Papagos south of the border. Papaguería was part of Mexico until the Gadsden Purchase of 1853 brought its northern portion under the rule of the United States. A number of the Papago settlements south of the international border have been abandoned,[21] but many of the Papagos in Arizona still live in the

[20] Sauer, *Aboriginal Population of Northeastern Mexico*, pp. 5, 29, 32.

[21] In 1915 the number of Papago in Mexico was estimated at between five hundred and two thousand: Clotts, *Nomadic Papago Surveys*.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
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same general area, and to a large extent on the very sites they occupied in Kino's day.

Although Kino labored assiduously for some twenty-five years the missions dwindled soon after his death, and, despite the courageous but less able or forceful efforts of Garcés, showed no appreciable revival. Thus after this brief Spanish influence the Papago were left to themselves. Although they had secured horses, cattle, wheat, and a few fruits and vegetables from the Spaniards, and their houses and clothing underwent some change by adoption, their fundamental material culture suffered little disturbance and their religious and social life continued with almost no change. The Papago, dwelling in a barren, inaccessible and inhospitable country, were little visited by the whites, who had no inclination to acquire their lands. Thus they remained relatively isolated, and have retained intact to the present most of their aboriginal culture.

The Pima story is vastly different. Beginning in 1825-26 with the entrance of the Patties, the first American pioneers into Arizona, who came for the purpose of trapping beaver, followed by two military expeditions along the Gila in the 1840's and the inception of the gold rush days in 1849, the Gila Pima were subjected to increasingly intensive white influence. It was the permanent flow of water over stretches of its course that made the Gila the most practicable route from the Rocky Mountains to California across the southern desert area. When the Gadsden Purchase brought northern Pimería Alta with its Gila Pima and northern Papago under the rule of the United States, the Gila Valley was soon settled by whites; the Pima rapidly became acculturated, and their history since 1840 has been one of pronounced cultural decadence.[22]

The Gadsden Purchase, which included the Gila Valley and a stretch of desert to the south, cut Pimería Alta practically in two, the northern portion thereafter being under

[22] Underhill, *Papago Calendar Record*, pp. 3, 5; Russell, *Pima*, pp. 19-20.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
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the control of the United States, the southern under the rule of Mexico. The desert dwellers, who formally came to be known as Papago and had always had more affiliations with the Altar Valley than with the Gila, continued their connections with the people of the Altar, and this intensified their isolation.[23] Moreover, establishment of the international boundary has decreased intercourse between the upper and lower portions of the old Pimería, with the result that at present little is known of the Sonoran Pima, now amalgamated with the Mexican population, a situation which applies in less degree to the Papago below the border.

At present the Papago in the United States are located largely on three reservations in southern Arizona—one established in 1874 just southwest of Tucson at San Xavier del Bac, formerly a Sobaipuri village (70,080 acres); another, the large desert reservation established as such in 1917 and containing 2,335,510 acres; and the third is a small area (10,240 acres) at Gila Bend, founded in 1882. Also there are some Papago, as well as a few Pima, living on the so-called Maricopa Indian Reservation just south of Maricopa, Arizona, set aside in 1912. These reservations originally comprised a total of 2,884,720 acres although some deductions were made later.[24]

The Growler Mountains actually represent the present western limit of Papago distribution, for little is known of the Arenefios, or Sand Papago, just north of the Gulf of California and west of these mountains. Within Papaguería there are one hundred settlements, forty-seven of which are located near Papago fields. In addition there are several abandoned villages. The Pima dwelt for the most part along the Gila and lower Salt rivers and now are concentrated largely on the reservation at Sacaton, set aside as such in 1870.

[23] Underhill, *Papago*, p. 28.

[24] Clotts, *History of the Papago Indians and History of Irrigation on Indian Reservations.*

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
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GENERIC DESCENT OF THE PAPAGO VILLAGES

By J. W. HOOVER

131 THE region of southern Arizona and northern Sonora, Mexico, occupied by the Papago Indians, was called Papagueria by the Spaniards. The name is again coming into use as the area is made to stand out in sharper contrast with the lines of settlement and civilization drawing more closely about it. Broadly considered, it is the area south of the Southern Pacific Railway and west of the Santa Cruz River, and north of the Altar Valley, Sonora. Disregarding several considerable outlying villages or groups such as those at San Xavier and in Tucson, the Papago villages are confined to that part of the area which is bounded on the east by the Baboquivari Mountain range and related low mountain groups extending northward. These also roughly bound the Papago Indian Reservation. On the north, white settlement is approaching the reservation boundary line. The western boundary is less definite, as in this direction the desert becomes increasingly inhospitable, merging into great precarious empty waste spaces, too barren to support even Papago.[1]

133 As part of the Basin Range Province, the Papagueria is characterized by flat detrital plains, interrupted by low fault block mountains which occupy the minor part of the area. The mountains are in an advanced stage of erosion, rugged and almost bare of soil and vegetation, due to aridity and spasmodic rainfall. The products of disintegration have been emptied onto the relatively depressed areas and spread out smoothly.

101 Both mountains and plains, or so-called valleys, have north-northwest
131 by south-southeast axes, and the Papagueria lies open both to the north
361 and to the south. So, northward the Papago villages blend into the Pima villages of the Gila River, interrupted by the wedge of white settlement extending from Florence on the Gila River westward through Casa Grande. And southward, they blend into the river villages of the Altar Valley, Sonora, now mostly Mexican. The Indians of the latter valley are really Pima as the Spanish padres made the distinction. The settled groups on the river flats wherever found were called Pima, and the somewhat migratory desert Indians were called Papago.

175 The eastern border land, the Santa Cruz Valley, was formerly occupied by the Sobaipuris, who like the Pima on the Gila and Altar Rivers, irrigated their fields on the flats of the Santa Cruz and San Pedro Rivers.

[1] Godfrey Sykes, The Camino del Diablo: with Notes on a Journey in 1925 (Geographical Review, Vol. 17, pp. 62-74, 1927); Eldred D. Wilson, New Mountains in the Yuma Desert (Geographical Review, Vol. 21, pp. 22-228, 1931).

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
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175 It was the Sobaipuris for whom and by whom the Spanish missions were built. The picturesque and well preserved San Xavier Mission, about nine miles south of Tucson, was built at the largest village, Bac. The others were located at Guvavi, about nine miles north of Nogales, and at Tumacacori, midway between.

Fleeing before the ravaging Apache early in the nineteenth century, the Sabaipuris abandoned their villages and the missions, and took refuge among the Papago, with whom the tribe merged and lost its identity. The last one of the known Sobaipuri braves died in Tucson in March, 1932.[1] The present village at San Xavier was settled by Papago at a later date.

ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENTS TO THE LAND

132 312 Water, or rather its absence, is the critical factor or resource of the Papagueria; limiting in turn habitable sites where water may be had for domestic purposes; limiting the economically useful vegetation to short lived annuals and low scattered xerophytic perenniels suited to limited grazing; severely restricting the tillable lands in spite of extensive areas of flat land with deep fertile soils of the lime accumulating type. The rainfall varies from less than five inches in the west to as much as eighteen inches or more in the Baboquivari Mountains.

241 648 311 In recompense, the aridity has afforded a degree of security, for the area has offered little to hostile marauding Indians, or even to the covetous white man. Few white families could make a living on as much of this land as may support an entire Papago village. The very poverty of his land has been the Papago's guarantee, and his peaceful record is in large part due to the fact that he has had comparatively little provocation or interference. A high degree of adaptation through centuries of adjustment, combined with a low standard of living, have made it possible for over 5,000 Papago to live on about 5,000 square miles of this region, desertic both in climate and resources.

241 The Papago are the premier dry farmers, producing wheat on driest lands where it is known to be successfully grown, with as little as five inches of rainfall or less.[2a] Some years the crop fails entirely, for the rains do not always come. But yields as high as twenty-five bushels to the acre have been grown. A good harvest will furnish wheat enough to last several years, and the Papago have learned the wisdom of keeping a reserve on hand.

[1] The Arizona Republic, March 16, 1932, p. 1.

[2a] Carl Sauer and Donald Brand, Prehistoric Settlements of Sonora, with Special Reference to Cerros de Trincheras (University of California Publications in Geography, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1931), espc. p. 75.

Chapter I

HISTORY

The modern Papago, and their effort to adjust to the American industrial civilization around them, cannot be understood apart from the traditions and values that have come down through the years from the ancestral Papago society which occupied this same region in pre-Spanish times. The contrast between the Papago society and economy of 1700 and modern American industrial life is as great as the contrast between any two societies in the world today.

Linguistically, the Papago dialects--still spoken in the vast majority of Papago homes--are classified with the Pima-Papago division of the Piman language which, in turn, is grouped with the larger Uto-Aztecan stock which is made up of Indian languages spoken from southern Mexico to the borders of Montana and Wyoming. Culturally, the Papago are related to the desert tribes of northwestern Mexico, western Arizona, southern California and Nevada.

As a group these so-called "Ranoheria" cultures are characterized as having loose political organization with little authority vested in the chief or headman;

105 lack of interest in wealth, religious structures, and
171 public works; relative unimportance of religious cere-
175 monialism and the weak development of religious leader-
ship. On the positive side, they had a highly developed
[181] native literature in myth and song recital, in folk stories, and in formalized oratory; they were greatly interested in social gatherings and were especially sensitive to the maintenance of form and custom in social intercourse. The reports on all these people give the impression of an unhurried, relaxed type of life, and a dependence upon established tradition and the old people who understood this tradition, rather than upon individual initiative.

171 The absence of individual aggressiveness, the
181 ease of manner, and the lack of a fully developed interest
178 in economic advancement, as this is known in white society, persist as cultural traits among the modern groups and account, in some measure, for their resistance to measures and proposals stemming from the white man's concept of "progress," and his interest in wealth as a symbol of status and achievement.

175 The Papago, however, with their interest in
171 agriculture and in village life, had a somewhat more com-
105 plex way of life than the typical "Rancheria" groups of northwestern Arizona, southeastern California, and Nevada,
[62] in pre-Spanish days. The Papago village, in fact, was usually politically autonomous and served as the next most

important social unit to the extended family which, in some other Rancheria cultures, was the largest effective social unit. Leadership, as among other desert tribes, was more through personal influence and character than vested authority. In addition to the headman each village also had a council of elders, a village crier, a keeper of the smoke, and other village officers who were in charge of ceremonies and festivals. Papago warfare, led by men selected for their ability, was directed principally against the Apache on the east.

Perhaps the people now known as Papagos would be more accurately described as the descendents of three west to east groups whose "Rancheria" type culture became more complex toward the east where increased rainfall and surface water permitted such things as concentrated and permanent settlements, greater division of labor, and more elaborate religious ceremonies. Dr. Bernard Fontana, at any rate, has pointed out that at the time of Spanish contact there were three major "types" of Papago groups classified on the basis of subsistence and settlement patterns. (Personal Communication). These, according to Fontana, were the western centrally-based nomads, the Sand Papagos, living in an area of less than five inches of rainfall annually and located between the Gila Mountains on the west to the Ajo Mountains on the east; the central "akchin" farmers, or Papagos proper, whose winter-summer transhumance

175 pattern is well known, living in an area of between five
101 and ten inches of rainfall annually and located between
131 the Ajo Mountains on the west and the Baboquivari Mountains
132 on the east; and the eastern riverine sedentary Papagos, or "Sobaipuris", living in an area of between ten and fifteen inches of rainfall annually and located between the Baboquivari Mountains on the west and the San Pedro Valley on the east.

175 Papago agricultural techniques were simple.
105 Most fields were small, located at the foot of steep
241 slopes, where intermittent streams emerged at the edge of the flat desert land; at these "mouths" (akchin in Papago), a small cultivated area could be watered, if rain came in the adjacent hills at the right time. Small irrigation channels were used to bring water from larger mountain streams to fields in the flat valleys, but no large-scale development of irrigation was possible such as the Gila
[162] and Salt valleys permitted. Along the Santa Cruz River, however, in the vicinity of the San Xavier Mission south of Tucson, extensive irrigation canals were used in pre-Spanish times and, even though smaller in extent than the aboriginal irrigation systems along the Gila and Salt, permitted a concentration of population at Bac which exceeded the size of any of the Pima villages farther north. (Dr. Bernard Fontana, Personal Communication).

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The principal aboriginal crops were corn, beans, and squash, to which the Spanish missionaries added wheat, kidney beans, lentils, vetch, chick peas, and possibly watermelons. These new crops, however, were not grown in significant quantities until the last few generations. Wheat could be planted in February and harvested in May, and corn was regularly planted in July or August when the summer rains came; thus two grain crops a year became possible, greatly increasing the agricultural potential of the area, although it was still limited by the extreme variation and scarcity of rainfall. [221]

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The typical family was made up of the parents, their children, and the wives and children of the sons. Such units were grouped into villages with a tendency for village members to be related through the paternal line. Like other southern and western Arizona groups, the family was the important economic unit, with each family responsible for its own subsistence.

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Religious practices were centered around the recurring events of the annual economic cycle interspersed by many curing and other personal crisis ceremonies. The regular annual round of ceremonies included as its most important events a rain ceremony in early summer, after the gathering of the fruit of the giant cactus, at which the fermented juice of the fruit was drunk, and a deer dance in the autumn or early winter when the people had moved into their mountain localities from the summer field villages.

175 their mountain localities from the summer field villages.
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796 The most important and elaborate of all religious ceremonies, however, was the viikita which was celebrated every four years. This has been called a harvest ceremony but it was more than that and might better be called a "world renewal ceremony", something designed to set everything in order and to promote general future growth and welfare (Dr. Bernard Fontana, Personal Communication).

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105 The picture is one of a society of small autonomous villages, loosely held together by custom and tradition, and governed by the unanimous decisions of the older men. For the individual there was a high degree of freedom coupled with full responsibility for the protection, livelihood, and well being of the members of his own family.

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197 The difference between this type of society and our own is difficult to visualize. The typical Papago feels most intensively both the loss of individual action in our highly institutionalized society, and the loss of almost complete self-dependence. The welfare agency, for example, will feed his children if they are hungry, but he must abide by their rules; the Indian Service school educates his children, but he has no real control over what they are taught, or how they are taught. It is the difference between a society with small resources, and small opportunities, but with maximum individual freedom and responsibility, and a society with great resources and opportunities made possible by the transfer of individual action to group action and controls

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and controls.

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European Contact. The first important contact between Papagos and Europeans came about when Father Eusebio Kino brought his missionary program into what is now Sonora and Arizona in the late 1600's and early 1700's. Of greatest significance to the Papago was the Spanish introduction of cattle, sheep, goats, and horses. On several journeys into what is now southern Arizona Kino had stock from the missions of Sonora driven north, and cattle and horses quickly became established in many areas. Unfortunately for the Papago, the Apache in the mountainous areas to the north and east found Papago stock a strong lure for increased raiding activities; as the Apache now also had horses, they could travel far and fast, and both Pima and Papago were forced to defend themselves by means of more carefully organized military activities than had previously been common. The advantages of a greatly increased meat supply from cattle and the increased mobility made possible with horses, were at least partly offset by the continued Apache raids, which neither Papago nor Spanish measures were fully successful against.

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In spite of Kino's vigorous beginnings, missionary activities were on a small scale and most Papagos remained largely isolated from Spanish contact, except indirectly through the new plants and animals that had been introduced. During the many years of revolution by which

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175 Mexico gained its independence in 1821, Papagos from Sonora
177 sometimes fled northward into what is now Arizona, introducing Spanish ways acquired during their longer and more
175 intensive contact with non-Indians. The Gadsden Purchase,
648 which added the lands south of the Gila River to the United States in 1853, resulted in the Papago Indians losing their Mexican citizenship, without gaining full United States citizenship. Their lands were considered at that time as available for white settlement, and many springs, wells, and grazing areas were soon claimed by ranchers moving into the area. The seriousness of the trespass was not recognized in early pioneer days with respect to the vast desert
175 areas west of Tucson. The situation was different, however,
657 with respect to the compact settlement of Indians around
[162] the San Xavier Mission and, for this group, a reservation was established in 1874 by Executive Order. By this means about 70,000 acres of land near the Santa Cruz River were
[423] protected from white encroachment. When much of the area
[311] was allotted to individual Indians in 1890, 1,580 acres were reported to be under irrigation and an additional 6,440 acres were considered suitable for farming if water could be made available; the remaining acreage was suitable only for grazing.

175 About this same time, the 1880's and 1890's, a burst of mining activity (in the area of the present main reservation) brought a rapid development of many new wells and the improvement of old ones, to supply the towns that

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quickly grew up at such locations as Quijotoa (Covered Wells), Alamo, and San Antone (formerly Weldon, with a population said to have reached 11,000 at one time). One by one the mines were worked out or failed, and although the mining communities were rapidly deserted, the improvements to the water supply enabled Papagos to occupy the locations advantageously wherever elaborate well machinery was not needed. [312] [311]

After the Civil War, the combination of growing Papago herds and numerous ranches established by white settlers resulted in substantial increase in the stock grazed in the area now included in the Papago Reservation. Papago "depredations" in the 1890's caused some ranchers to abandon the area, their losses being alleged to have been $300,000 in stock and improvements. Lumholtz reported in 1909 that several Papago stock men had herds of about 200 cattle and 50 horses, in excellent condition, in the western slopes of the Baboquivari Range. Nevertheless, Indian cattlemen and farmers were not secure in their land and numerous large tracts were held by non-Indians. 175 233 [648] [422]

A complete history of the establishment of the three Papago reservations is provided by a Bureau of Indian Affairs report (1944): 175 657 13 [714]

> "The first reservation for the Papago Indians was established at San Xavier on July 1, 1874, and the second at Gila Bend on December 12, 1882.... An Executive Order of June 17, 1909, reduced the size of the Gila Bend Reservation.

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An Executive Order of June 16, 1911, established small reserves of 80 acres each at Indian Oasis, (now Sells) and at San Miguel. Four Executive Orders of May 28, 1912, established the Maricopa, Cockleburr, Chui Chuisohu, and Tat-Murl-Ma-Kut reservations, and orders of September 2 and October 8 of the same year revised the boundaries of the Maricopa Reservation. An Executive Order of December 5, 1912, restored the Indian Oasis and San Miguel reservations to the public domain, and, in lieu thereof, established new Indian Oasis and San Miguel reservations, and added another at the foot of Baboquivari Peak, Santiergos.

"A sub-agency at San Xavier administered these last three areas as well as the San Xavier Reservation. The other Papago reservations remained under the direct jurisdiction of the Pima Agency. An Executive Order of January 14, 1916, established the 'Sells, Nomadic Papago, or Papago Villages Reservation' which included the area formerly within the Cockleburr, Chui Chuisohu, Tat-Murl-Ma-Kut, Indian Oasis, San Miguel, and Santiergos reservations, and added much new land. This action was modified by an Executive Order of February 1, 1917, which changed the reservation boundary and reduced the area by about one fifth, principally in an irregular strip running from east to west through the middle of the reservation where large white cattle ranches were located.

"....An Act of June 28, 1926, authorized the purchase of the Steinfeld and Tierney tracts near Sells. An Act of February 21, 1931, authorized the purchase of patented lands within the Papago Reservation and in the strip and added these and the public domain within the strip to that reservation. An Act of July 28, 1937, authorized the purchase of the Menager Dam tract and the addition of neighboring public domain and the Lojira Tract to the east of the Papago Reservation. On January 25, 1940, the Romero Tract was bought, and on May 25, 1940, the Marcellar Tract was added.

"The net result of the various Executive Orders and Acts is an area of 2,774,496 acres within the present Papago Reservation, 71,189 acres within the San Xavier Reservation, and

10,235 acres within the Gila Bend Reservation, a total of 2,855,920 acres."

No changes of any importance in Papago land holdings have been made since 1944, but a very important change in the nature of Indian title came about in 1955 when, by Act of Congress, the Papago were given all mineral, as well as surface, rights to the reservation.

The history of the establishment of the Papago reservations reveals how recently the large majority of Papago have been directly exposed to non-Indian health, education, religious, and other programs. It was not until 1917 that the first federal school was established on the main reservation at Sells and it was not until after 1917 that any attempt was made to develop Papago resources.

The decades following 1910 also saw a renewal of Catholic missionary work and the commencement of Protestant missionary work. The history of the modern influence of Christianity on the reservations is reported by Joseph, Spicer and Chesky (1949):

> "For several years after 1908, brief trips were made to Gu Achi by various Roman Catholic priests who were stationed on the Pima Reservation. In 1915 a resident priest was given jurisdiction over the area, and he made his headquarters near Ko Vaya (Cobabi). In 1923 Father Bonaventure Oblasser moved the headquarters to Topawa. One or sometimes two priests served the reservations for the next decade, carrying on the work of the church and directing its mission schools, which were taught by young Papago. Visits were seldom made to the westernmost part of the reservation,

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and it was not until the 1930's that an increase of personnel brought an expansion of Catholic Missionary work.

"Systematic Protestant missions to the Papago started in 1910, when a Presbyterian missionary began to make regular trips to the main reservation. By 1912 a church and school of that denomination were established at Indian Oasis. Two years later a church and school were set up at San Miguel, and, in 1920, churches were built in Vamori and Topawa. Some older Sonora Catholics were converted; often their children were in boarding school, and word was sent that the children should now attend Presbyterian Sunday School instead of Catholic services. The third generation of Presbyterians is now beginning to grow up, and the membership, a minority on the reservation, remains mostly in the families of the eastern district who were first converted."

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Even though scattered schools and churches were established on the main Papago reservations after 1917 and some work was done in the development of stock water and irrigation systems, the most important events in the recent history of the Papago took place after 1930. The most important of these events were the "liberalization" of federal control over the lives of Indians, changes in Indian attitudes toward an improved way of life which took place during and after the second World War, and the appropriation of more adequate federal funds for Indian education, health, resources development, and many other purposes after the early 1950's.

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The nearly absolute control over the lives of Indians which marked governmental policies during the early part of the twentieth century, was finally ended in the

middle 1930's under the influence of John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. His program, in part, was embodied in the Indian Reorganization Act, which contained specific provisions for the preservation of Indian land holdings and the assumption by Indians of some measure of control over their own resources; authorization for the establishment of tribal self-government and federally chartered tribal business corporations; and the establishment of a revolving loan fund for economic development purposes. The intention was to solve Indian social and economic problems through the development of Indian initiative, but it was a "boot strap" program unsupported by necessary governmental appropriations for the training of Indian leaders and the development of Indian organizations, not to mention inadequate appropriations for education, health services, resources development, and routine administrative services. In the case of the Papago, among many other tribes, the program also lacked effectiveness because the majority of individual Indians were not yet committed to any major changes in their way of life. 175 657 [185]

Under the provisions of the Act, Papago Indians living on the main reservation and on the reservations at San Xavier and Gila Bend, joined together to form a single tribal government with headquarters at Sells. The tribal constitution and by-laws, however, provided for an important degree of local autonomy under a system of district councils with each district having two members on the tribal council. 175 642 [631]

175 San Xavier and Gila Bend were each treated as a district and
631 the main reservation was divided into nine districts which conformed with the grazing districts previously established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The nine districts on the main reservation are: Paboq Aivari, Chukut Kuk, Gu Achi, Gu Vo, Hickiwan, Pisinimo, Schuk Toak, Sells, and Sif Oidak. (See Map 1)

175 The experience of individual Papagos in the armed
177 services and in employment in war industries during World
185 War II, was the second important event in recent Papago history. These experiences opened the eyes of many of the younger Indians to the difference between the poverty of a subsistence life on the reservation and the relative prosperity obtainable through participation in the job opportunities and the economy of the non-Indian world around them. They realized that to take advantage of these opportunities they, and their children, would have to secure an education, learn how to live in outside communities, and adapt their social habits and family life to the demands of an industrialized society. They also learned that some of the miseries of extreme poverty could be avoided if welfare programs were extended to their villages, and that high death rates, particularly among infants, could be reduced through the acceptance of modern medical treatment.

175 Upon the basis of these changes in Indian interests
659 and demands, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and interested

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members of Congress were able to bring about the third event in Papago history: The appropriation by Congress of reasonably adequate funds which would make possible the program of Indian development which had its start in the early 1930's. In education, programs for the establishment [871] of a new public school at Sells, adequate school bus service reaching isolated communities, and the construction of a day school and boarding school at Santa Rosa, have been completed only in the last ten years. Even though there had been a [743] small hospital at Sells prior to 1947, serious programs in health education and preventive medicine were not introduced until about ten years ago. This was followed by the construction of a modern 50-bed hospital in 1960.

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The recent history of the building of school facilities and records of school attendance on the Papago Reservation, provides the perspective against which to judge the inadequacy of training and experience which will handicap the adult Papago population in the years ahead. As recently as 1945 only about 800 children of school age were attending classes in public, federal and mission schools. Another 450 were enrolled but not attending classes and 800 Papago children were not enrolled in any school. In brief, considerably fewer than half of the eligible Papago children were in regular school attendance by the end of World War II. The deficiency, thanks to a variety of federal, state, and Catholic mission school programs has now been almost entirely corrected.

18: Kelly E-4,5 (no date) 1963 NU28 Papago NU28

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Educational and health programs are, of course, basic. Other programs for the development of human and natural resources on the reservation have received almost equal attention from the Papago Tribal Council and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These include the development of better roads and communication services, employment services, welfare and social services, economic development programs, and many others.

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The chapters that follow will treat in detail the nature of resources development on the reservation, and will describe the nature of the Papago population, its economic position, and its manpower resources. The information thus provided, it is hoped, will assist everyone concerned, and most particularly the Papago themselves, in planning for the future.

312 except in the southwest quarter of the reservation and other small areas where the fluoride content is greater than 1.5 parts per million, the maximum suggested for domestic use (Heindl, p. 22).

175 312 Reservation Water Development. Prior to the systematic and extensive drilling of deep wells in the Papagueria, the Indians depended, during the long winter and spring period, upon a few widely scattered tanks and springs, which tapped small portions of the ground water supply. I some instances, shallow wells were dug to supplement natural water sources near the winter villages. During the summer and fall, at least, man-made catch basins (charcos) could be depended upon to hold a supply of water originating from run off from the heavy summer thunderstorms.

The brief and intensive period of mining activity in the late 19th Century was marked by the first large-scale use of ground water. Numerous relatively deep wells were dug or drilled, some of them continuing to supply Papago villages after the mining ventures came to an end. Nevertheless, wells remained few, more important for limited domestic use than to support the large numbers of cattle and horses grazed on the Reservation.

175 312 657 311 The first large-scale program of water development by the Bureau of Indian Affairs was in the middle 1930's. At that time 56 wells, 18 dams, 41 masonry storage

tanks, and 76 earth-walled tanks (charcos) were built. Water thus supplied not only permitted the year-round use of the range but permitted cattlemen to place their cattle in areas formerly not usable because of lack of water. Nevertheless, it was reported as late as 1949 that "only 40% of the Papago range is now within reach of permanent stockwater" (The Papago Development Program, 1949, p. 30). This situation, of course, tended to accentuate the overgrazing of areas with a better water supply. 175 312 657 311

From 1953 until the termination of the program in 1958, the Papago Development Program expended $1,041,181 on stockwater development, including not only wells, but windmills, power pumps, dams, storage tanks, and similar construction. During this same time deep wells were drilled to supply water for the Chuichu farm development. 175 312 657

Since 1958, with the completion of the well drilling program, emphasis has been upon range development and soil and moisture conservation. During the past five years, to June 30, 1963, about $500,000 has been expended for these purposes, mostly in the construction of detention dams. 185 312

At the present time there are 23 irrigation wells operating on the main reservation and at San Xavier. In addition there are 160 wells for domestic and stock water use, on the main Papago Reservation, six at San Xavier and two at Gila Bend. 312

CHAPTER III

RESERVATION ECONOMY

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Stock Raising. From the point of view of natural resources, the main Papago Reservation in its present state of development can be described in two words: cattle range. Approximately 15,000 head of cattle and horses are grazed on the reservation producing an estimated annual gross income of $650,000. [434]

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The introduction of cattle to the Papago country has been summarized in some detail by Wagoner (History of the Cattle Industry in Southern Arizona, 1540-1940). He points out that Coronado's large herds of cattle and sheep, brought northward in 1540, were steadily reduced in numbers, and it is probable that none of those that escaped or were abandoned on the march survived as the basis for wild herds and flocks in the 16th and 17th Centuries. Nevertheless, before 1700 there were some 100,000 head of cattle in northern Sonora. How far north any of these herds drifted is not known.

The Papago livestock industry really begins with the systematic development of ranching by Father Kino in the 1690's and early 1700's, but numbers seem to have continued

175 233 small. Most cattle in the 18th and early 19th Centuries were probably semi-wild and formed only a minor part of the subsistence base of the Papago.

175 233 563 Soon after the Gadsden Purchase of 1853 non-Indian ranchers began moving into the area of the main reservation, most of which, until 1917, was public domain. There are no accurate figures on the extent of non-Indian ranching during the years prior to 1917. Large ranches, however, were established in various areas of what is now the main reservation and these were later acquired by the federal government for the benefit of the Papago.

175 233 312 361 Cattle ranching by Indians was on a small scale prior to the drilling of the first wells for stock water in the early 1900's. There thus was added to the traditional Papago well settlement (near an assured supply of water for the winter season) and the field settlement (near the floodwater fields used in the summer) a third recognizable type of settlement, the ranch. A. F. Mark has tabulated the number of identifiable Indian ranch locations between 1850 and 1960 (Mark, 1960, Tables 4 and 5). In 1900 there were six such locations. Another 14 were established by 1925, and another 12 by 1960. Because some were abandoned through the years, there were a total of 23 Papago ranch and grazing locations in 1960.

175 233 These data support the inference that livestock raising began to have substantial economic significance for

the Papago soon after 1900. Unlike other Arizona tribes, who acquired cattle in significant numbers only after formal programs for cattle raising had been introduced by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Papago created their own livestock economy. Gwyneth Harrington provides a very interesting account of the process (Harrington, 1938). The incorporation of cattle raising as a part of Papago native culture, compares with the Navajo sheep raising economy, and accounts for a great deal of the resistance to change on the part of both tribes:

175 233 [114] 175 178 233

> "In the time which elapsed between the abandonment of Father Kino's missions and the founding of the Papago Indian Reservation in 1917, the Papago had plenty of time, about two hundred years in all, to become accustomed to the use of cattle and horses, adjust themselves to the new occupational elements, and assimilate the industry into the family, social, and economic structure of the tribe at their own tempo, without interference.
>
> "The old hunting range became the cattle range of the Papago settlement. Hunting was not entirely abandoned, and still has some place in the Papago economy; but in the southern districts the economic emphasis shifted early to cattle raising. [224]
>
> "The cattle of all the family were herded together, and the enterprise was conducted under the orders of the family head. The family hunters, usually one or two men to a family, gave place to one or more of the younger men appointed by the patriarchal head of the family as cowboys. These men took care of the cattle, while, as often in the case of hunters, the others did their share of the farming, and provided for their other needs in return for the specialized work of hunting or care of cattle.
>
> "Each village chose a local stockman to direct the village round-ups and cattle sales. His work was voluntary, unpaid, and a position of some prestige, almost equal to that of the Hunt Chief, whose position was falling into disuse." [554] [463]

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233 The first detailed observations of Papago cattle raising were made by Clotts during his 1914-15 topographic survey of the Papagueria (Clotts, 1915). At each village he attempted to record such details as population, number of houses, acreage in cultivation, amount of livestock, and so on. He reports, however, that his figures on the number of cattle and horses are only estimates, based upon the number given at a few villages and by comparison with other places. He provides a district-by-district report and then gives an estimate for the entire reservation. The latter figure is from twice to three times the district totals.

Table 11. Numbers of Livestock Recorded by Clotts in 1914 at Locations now within the Papago Reservation

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District	Cattle	Horses	Grazing Units*
Baboquivari	2,050	320	2,450
Chukut Kut	2,075	330	2,486
Gu Achi	1,570	270	1,856
Gu Vo	665	88	775
Hickiwan	900	155	1,094
Pisinimo	1,790	220	2,065
Schuk Toak	800	110	937
Sells	1,870	270	2,206
Sif Oidak	2,000	240	2,300
Totals	13,670	2,003	16,169

Having given this information, he then goes on to say that the number of cattle and horses held by the Papago

* Units are calculated on the basis of one unit for cattle and one and a quarter units for horses.

was variously estimated at from 30,000 to 50,000 of the former and 8,000 to 10,000 of the latter. It is possible that the number of cattle sold annually from the reservation influenced Clotts in arriving at these latter estimates. As Gwyneth Harrington learned later, Papago have always been credited with running more cattle than they possessed because of the numbers sold from the reservation. She learned that Mexican cattle were habitually introduced into the United States through the Papago Reservation at market time by Mexican ranchers seeking higher prices for their stock. 175 233 [439]

Clotts' comments on stock raising as observed in 1914 are of sufficient interest to quote in full (Clotts, 1915, pp. 7-8):

> "Husbandry. These Indians own at the present time a very large number of cattle and horses. These are ranged in the valleys as long as the water lasts in the charcos, and are then driven to the mountains and watered at the wells, the water being raised by means of the simple combination of saddle pony, lariat, and rawhide bucket. The Indians are good horsemen and round up and branding time is an important event.
>
> "Grazing. A large number of cattle are sold annually to buyers from Tucson and other points. It is a fairly good cattle country, notwithstanding the lack of a sufficient number of watering places scattered throughout the country. It is variously estimated that there are from 30,000 to 50,000 cattle and 8,000 to 10,000 horses belonging to the Papagos. Among these is a good proportion of very good stock since the introduction a few years ago of a number of thoroughbreds. [439]
>
> "Owing to the hot, dry months of May, June, and sometimes July, when the charcos go dry and the grazing around the mountain wells is reduced to [132]

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an irreducible minimum, cattle are brought to a state bordering on starvation. Sometimes quite a number die. It is at this time that the cattle can be seen eating the choya (cholla) with its protection of numberless spines which attach themselves to the mouth, nose and even ears and must be carried around until brushed off. The choya has considerable water and food value if it could be eaten."

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Clotts' figures not only indicate the intensity of development of stock raising, but, as shown on Map 7, [1/1] make clear its general distribution on the reservation. There is a conspicuous concentration along the Vamori and Santa Rosa washes, with very little development in the northeast and northwest areas. The map is based on the residence of owners, however, and thus does not show where the cattle are actually grazed. Vamori owners, for example, are known to have had large numbers of cattle in the foothills of the nearby Baboquivari Mountains.

Probably the only reliable estimate of the number of cattle held by the Papago prior to 1950 is given by Gwyneth Harrington for 1937. [422] In that year, with the help of Indian informants, she secured the number of cattle held by owners in each of the villages of the Baboquivari and Chukut Kuk districts. The total for Baboquivari was 5,100 head, and for Chukut Kuk, 5,880, making a total for the two districts of 10,980. Comparing these figures with estimates made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the other districts of the reservation she estimated that 44.9 per cent of all Papago

[1/1 [see map on p. 98- B2, B7/4 and B3 -- Analyst]

cattle were held in her two districts, and that the total cattle population on the reservation was about 25,000. 175 233 [311]

It is reasonable to assume from this and other evidence that the period of heavy grazing on the reservation was between 1914 and 1937. Drought conditions in the middle 1930's caused many cattle and horses to die on the range and forced Indian owners to sell more than usual numbers. Cattle and horse sales, in fact, more than doubled between 1935 and 1939. It was also during this time that the first serious attempts were made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to introduce better range management practices and to influence the Indians to run fewer head of cattle of better quality. Pressure to reduce the number of horses, especially horses running wild on the reservation, also had an effect and, in addition, the number of horses was reduced because of a dourine infection which was not brought under control until the late 1940's. [731] 175 233 657 433

The steady reduction in stock numbers was revealed in a ten-year comparison for the period 1949 to 1959 (Metzler, 1960, p. 55). The data also provides information on the size of the Papago ranges and the number of acres available per animal unit. See Table 12. 175 233

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Table 12. Cattle and Horses Grazed on the Papago Reservations, 1949 and 1959 as Reported by the Bureau of Indian Affairs

Reservation and Year	Acres in Range	Total Animal Units	Acres Per Animal Unit
Sells			
1949	2,761,471	21,626	127
1959	2,755,686	17,487	158
San Xavier			
1949	69,232	899	77
1959	69,232	682	101
Gila Bend			
1949	10,172	235	43
1959	10,195	70	145
Totals			
1949	2,840,875	22,760	125
1959	2,835,113	18,239	155

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[422]
[312]

The present distribution of cattle and horses on the reservation shows that livestock ownership is spread much more evenly over the reservation than formerly. A probable explanation for this modified distribution is the far larger number of wells now available, permitting the running of cattle in areas formerly unusable. This is a more advantageous use of the reservation resources, of course, since it permits less intensive grazing of each location and less damage to grass cover. A comparison of the grazing units calculated from Clotts' 1914 data (Table 11)[1] with current figures (Table 12) shows the nature of the change in cattle distribution. There are now increased numbers of

[1] [See p. 72--Analyst]

cattle in the Schuk Toak and Hickiwan districts. Other districts, on the whole, are running far fewer numbers of livestock than in 1914. A slight decrease is shown for the number of cattle in the Baboquivari and Chukut Kuk districts between 1914 and 1962 where cattle growers now own about 29 percent of all cattle on the reservation (See Map 7). It will be recalled that growers in these two districts held about 45 percent of all reservation cattle in 1937.

In attempting to summarize the present extent and importance of stock raising on the Papago Reservation, more detailed data are available than for the past, but an accurate count of the numbers of cattle and horses on the reservation is still not available. However, increased cooperation of tribal leaders and the establishment of cattle associations (in San Xavier, Pisinimo, Hickiwan, Gu Achi, Sif Oidak, and Baboquivari districts) is making it possible to obtain increasingly dependable records.

The 1962 record of grazing units, and the "authorized carrying capacity" of the main reservation are shown in Table 13. In regard to capacity of the range, it should be pointed out that this was established in 1944 on the basis of work which was conducted some years earlier.

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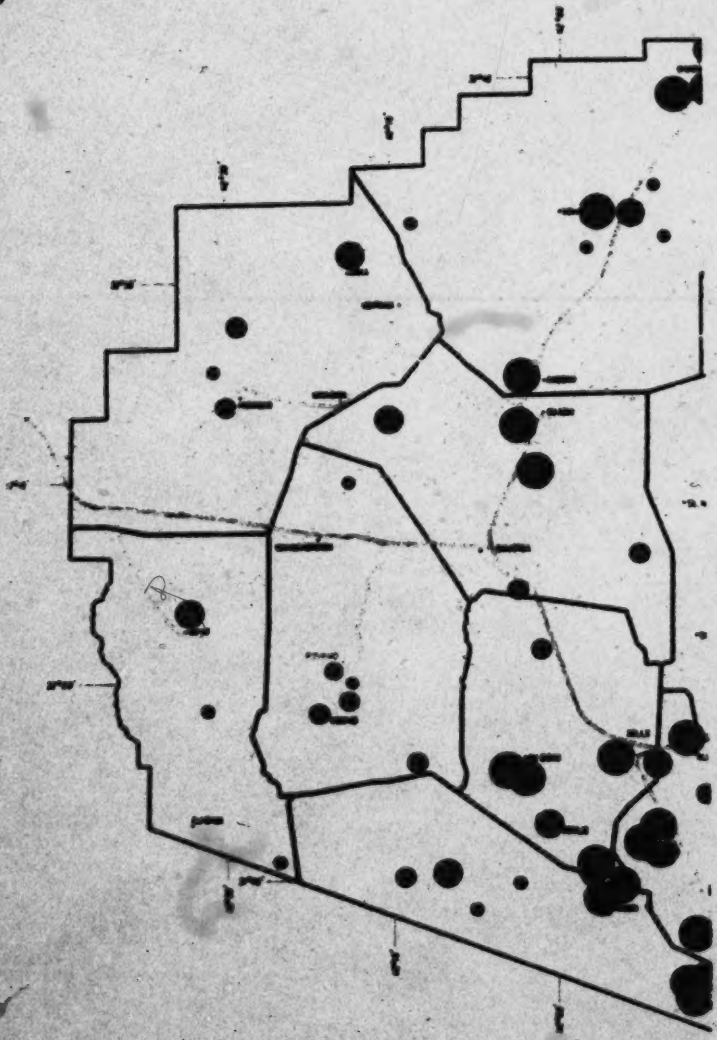

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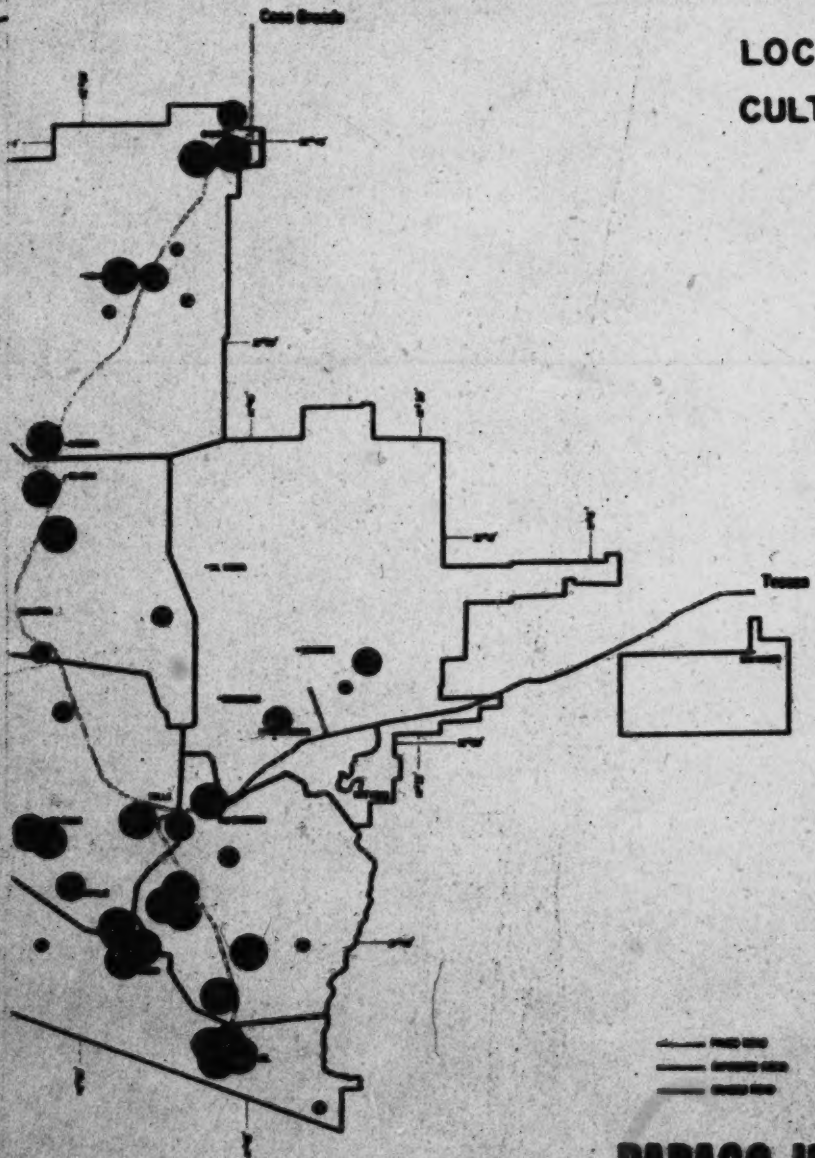

[A 70-12]

18: Kelly E-4, 5 (no date) 1963 NU28 Papago NU28

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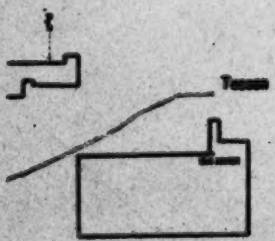
MAP 6
LOCATION AND SIZE OF CULTIVATED FIELDS 1914
(FROM CLOTTS)



• APPROX. 25 ACRES
● " 75 "
● " 150 "
● " 250 "

PAPAGO INDIAN RESERVATION

1963

[E-78-A3]

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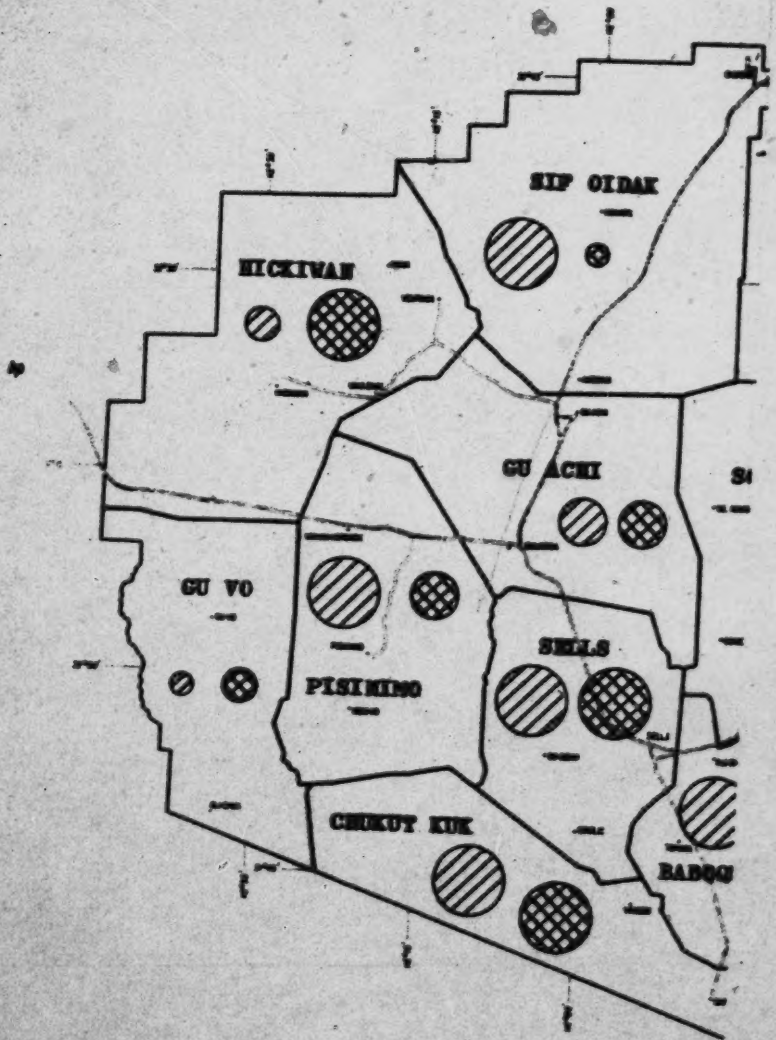

[p. 78-B1]

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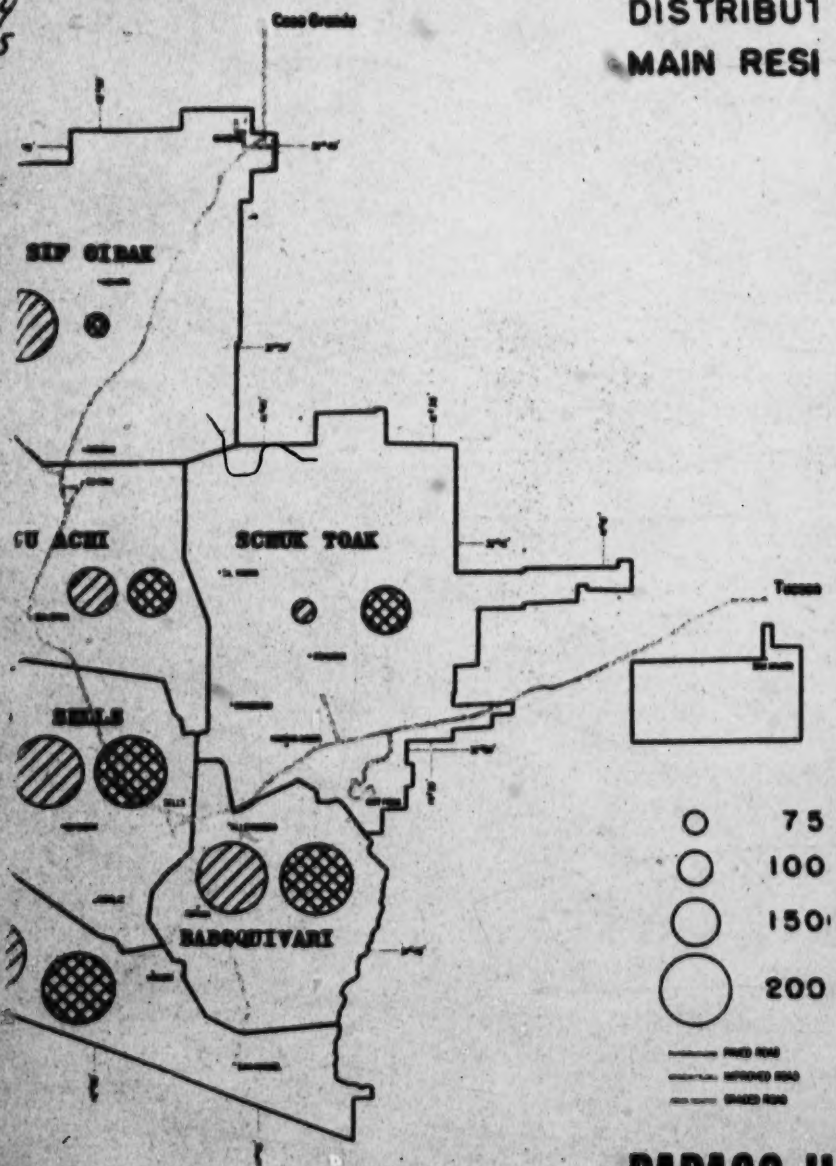

[78-B2]

18: Kelly E-4, 5 (no date) 1963 NU28 Papago NU28

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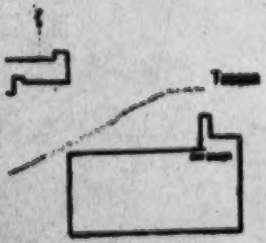
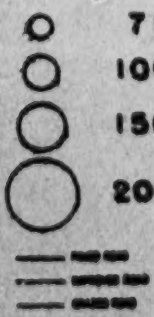
MAP 7
DISTRIBUTION OF LIVESTOCK ON MAIN RESERVATION 1914 & 1962 BY DISTRICTS





PAPAGO INDIAN RESERVATION

[4.78-B3]

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Table 15. Acreage and Value of Crops Grown on Irrigated Land in 1962, Papago Reservations

Crop	Chuichu		San Xavier				Gila Bend	
	Indian		Indian		Non-Indian		Non-Indian	
	Acres	Value	Acres	Value	Acres	Value	Acres	Value
Garden	5	$ 2,500	17	$ 8,500	31	0	0	0
Cotton	115	47,840	8	3,000	246	$ 82,900	61	$23,000
Small Grains	200	15,975	20	940	210	19,230	260	17,342
Forage & Pasture	400	16,000	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	740	82,315	45	12,440	487	102,130	321	40,342

Gross value of Indian crops $ 94,755
Gross value of Non-Indian crops 142,472
Gross value of all crops 237,227

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The history of irrigated farming at San Xavier and at Chuichu goes back to pre-Spanish times. The San Xavier area was described by Juan Mateo Manje, who visited there in 1697 with Father Kino:

> "Here the river runs a full flow of water, though the horses forded it without difficulty. There are good pasture and agricultural lands with a canal for irrigation. The Indians harvest corn, beans, and cotton from which they make cloth to dress themselves. Squash, melons and watermelons were also raised. We counted 800 souls in 186 houses." (Karns, p. 92)

[133] [286] [162]

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Subsistence farming with irrigation from stream flow continued at San Xavier until 1912 with the number of acres

175 planted by Indians ranging from 800 to 1,200. By 1916, with
241 water no longer available from the Santa Cruz River, 1,320
311 acres were irrigated with water from three wells. Indian
[312] farming continued at about this scale until 1953 when the present abandonment of farming by Indians at San Xavier commenced. In 1956, as shown in Table F4, a total of 886
[427] acres lay idle. The answer was a program for leasing San Xavier farm land to non-Indians which commenced in 1957.

241 During 1962 a total of 12 San Xavier Indians were
463 engaged in farming, but mostly in small garden plots. The smallest of these was one half acre in size.

175 Indian farming at Chuichu has had a somewhat
241 different history. Although known to have taken place,
311 pre-Spanish farming in this area has not been specifically
312 reported. The first report on the area is from Clotts (1915), who reported that 188 acres were being irrigated from the Santa Cruz River, but that the building of a canal to Green's Reservoir up stream had cut off a part of the water to Papago fields. Commencing in 1931, deep wells were drilled to supplement and replace the river water and, by 1937, 615 acres were developed for irrigation. In 1955, through the leveling of additional land and the drilling of new wells in an area just east of Chuichu, the Bureau of Indian Affairs made a total of 1,612 acres available to Indians. See Table 14.

WHY the Desert People work

461 464 The Desert People pick cotton because they need the money they are paid for their labor. Cotton harvesting is hard work and dirty, but as one young Papago who picks 300 pounds a day told the author, "$9 a day is a lot of money to me!" Picking cotton is the most practical way for unskilled Papagos to earn any large sum, and Papago cotton pickers superficially come very close to the concept of the economic man governed only by "laws" of economics. But there are deep-lying cultural reasons for this attitude and need among the Desert People.

CHANGE IN VIEWPOINT

177 178 Originally the Papago people lived in a manner quite different than they do today. After unknown centuries in their harsh semi-desert environment, they had worked out a marvelous adjustment to unfriendly nature and a military balance with surrounding Indians. But the Desert People have had some contacts with Europeans for 250 years. During those two and a half centuries, more and more Papago behaviors have changed to approximate European behaviors. Forms, if not meanings, of Papago action are frequently much like our own. Of course, habits and thoughts most central to Papago culture remain Indian in character. The most complete and striking changes have probably occurred in the economic spheres of life.

174 431 437 [224] Once material goods apparently changed hands among the Desert People through a system of gift exchange. A successful hunter divided his kill among families in his village. Later the wife of a good farmer divided some of her tasty dishes so the hunter received an amount roughly equivalent to his meat. Each family was an economic unit if necessary, and no kindred looked beyond its numbers for aid.

195 [749] 190 [834] [241] [465] When Spanish missionaries reached the Desert People they set out to change the Indians spiritually and economically. They introduced new crops and domestic animals to the Papagos along with a new religion. Missionaries introduced the Desert People to a work-exchange system, in which Indians were paid in kind for harvesting and other work (and even for attending mass at first)

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[439] at the missions. Familiarity with the work-exchange idea prepared Papagos for the system of barter prevalent in the rural areas on the frontiers of New Spain. At least by the time New Spain won its independence and called itself Mexico the Desert People had begun to work and trade for money. But their homeland economy was still on a barter basis, and did not go onto a cash basis until after many years of control by Anglo-Americans.

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465 Anglos established the first stores the Desert People had seen, and brought a much wider selection of foods and goods to be purchased with cash. Anglos were in the habit of paying for labor in cash rather than kind. As the Indians began to want the new foods and goods their own economy collapsed. Always the Desert People had survived on a very narrow margin in their resource-poor environment. But they always got by. Now as they acquired tastes for new foods and desires for new goods, their resources could not supply the surplus needed to purchase them. The Papagos had to convert their only unexploited resource--their own labor--into the cash they needed to buy new necessities. Their economy changed from a food-gathering-agricultural-hunting-work exchange subsistence economy to a wage labor-agricultural cash economy.

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439 The role Papago women have played in these changes cannot be overemphasized. They found it far easier to prepare and cook foods from trading posts than to gather the desert foods, prepare and cook them. Half the food eaten on the reserves now is purchased.[1] Many articles of Anglo technology--irons, sewing machines, flour, etc. --made women's work easier, and Papago women adopted them. This has meant Papago men and frequently women too had to work for cash to pay for purchased foods and sewing machines and cloth and durable goods.

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464 This need for cash is recognized by the realistic Desert People and moves them to hire out for wage labor. They have wants which they feel strongly. They realize their wants can be satisfied only with cash, and they have found cash can be acquired in most cases only by marketing their labor, since it is the major Papago resource. Their other resources simply cannot produce the cash necessary to satisfy their wants.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 87.

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Maricopa
Papago NU28
Pima NU29

PIMA AGENCY.

R Reports of Special Agent Stephen Whited on the Indians of the Gila River, Salt River, and Papago reservations, Pima agency,
Pi Maricopa-Pima, and Pinal counties, Arizona, from August to November, 1890.
Pa Names of Indian tribes or parts of tribes occupying said reservations: (a) On the Gila Bend reservation, Papagos; on the Gila River
101 reservation, Maricopa and Pima; on the Salt River reservation, Maricopa and Pima; on the Papago reservation, Papagos.
648 The undisputed areas of these reservations are as follows: Gila Bend reservation, 32,201 acres, or 50 square miles; Gila River, 357,120 acres, or 558 square miles; Salt River, 46,720 acres, or 73 square miles; Papago, 70,000 acres, or 109.3 square miles. These reservations have been partially surveyed and some portions subdivided. They were established, altered, or changed as follows: Gila River, by act of Congress approved February 28, 1859 (11 U. S. Stats., p. 401); executive orders August 31, 1876, January 10, 1879, June 14, 1879, May 5, 1882, and November 15, 1883; Salt River, by executive order June 14, 1879; Papago, by executive order July 1, 1874, and act of Congress approved August 5, 1882 (22 U. S. Stats., p. 298); Gila Bend reservation created by executive order December 23, 1882.
[161] Indian population June 1, 1890: Gila River, 3,822; Salt River, 886 (Pimas, 641; Maricopas, 245); Papagos, 5,123; total, 9,842.

This agency comprises the Gila River reservation, occupied by the Pimas; the Salt River reservation, inhabited by Pimas and Maricopas; the Papago reservation, and the Papagos off the reservation.

Pi The Pima Indians were occupying the valley of the Gila when the white man first saw them in 1530, and they
175 have remained there a peaceable and friendly people. For many years this valley was a place of refuge for white
648 men, for the Pimas protected and fed them from their scanty fare. These Indians have been self-supporting.
342 But little is given them by the government except farming implements. Their chief productions are wheat, barley,
[241] beans, and melons. The typical Pima house is shaped somewhat like an inverted kettle. It is about 20 feet in diameter, has no windows, and only one low door. The civilized and educated Pima is not contented with this kind of house; hence he makes his house of adobes, with windows, doors, tables, beds, and cupboards. About 50 adobe houses are now built each year.

● Pa The Papagos inhabited the southern third portion of Arizona and the northern part of Sonora, Mexico, when
● 175 the Europeans first met them in 1539–1540. They usually have a little better houses than the Pimas. Their
648 teachers have generally been Catholics, but they are not making equal progress with the Pimas, excepting those who are in the government schools.

R The Maricopas came from the Yuma tribe, who live on the Colorado river in California. They at one time
101 assisted the Pimas in fighting the Apaches in the Gila valley, living at that time about 8 miles below the Sacaton
648 agency, but because of the lack of water for irrigating purposes they left the old reservation about 15 years ago
[161] and went to the Salt River reservation, on the south bank of the Salt river, near Phenix, where they now are. They number only 315. They are a good-for-nothing sort of people, lazy, and fault-finding.

The Maricopas are decreasing in number.—C. W. Crouse, United States Indian agent.

000 The agency buildings at Sacaton are of adobe; one two-story, used as a dwelling, valued at $4,000; another of one-story, containing the agent's and the physician's offices, valued at $500; one used as a storeroom, $1,500; one as a blacksmith's shop, value, $300; sundry others used for storage, value, $300; total value, $7,100. The dwelling is in fair condition, and the others specified are in good condition.

GILA RIVER AND SALT RIVER RESERVATIONS.

Pi The Pima tribe of Indians are on two reservations in Arizona, the larger commencing at the junction of the
131 Gila and Salt rivers and running east on both sides of the Gila river about 52 miles, with an average breadth of 10.66 miles, containing 558 square miles or 357,120 acres. Along with the Pimas at Salt river are 315 Maricopas, and they will be considered as one people in writing about them. The southern limit of this reservation is latitude 33° north. The Salt River reservation lies about 12 miles east of the city of Phenix, and is mostly on the north side of the Salt river, extending easterly about 13 miles, and contains 73 square miles, or 46,720 acres.

Pi About one-eighth of the Gila River reservation is mountainous, the remainder an arid waste. During the
13 rainy season, however, sufficient grass is produced on the greater part of the reservation for pasturage for a limited
241 number of animals. In the year 1890 about 6,000 acres of land were cultivated, yielding good crops of wheat and barley wherever the water supply was sufficient.

The Salt River reservation is similar to the Gila river country, except that a larger proportion of the surface is mountainous. During the dry season the bed of the Gila is often dry in places. The imperfection of any irrigating system yet devised by the Indians tends to reduce the agricultural product of the reservation from year to year. Below this agency 21 farms, which produced more than 400,000 pounds of wheat in 1889, have produced but a few pounds in 1890, on account of the scarcity of water when the crops were growing.

The altitude of the agency and this portion of the reservation is about 1,100 feet. The highest temperature for 1890 was 107°, and the lowest 29°. No record of the rainfall was kept, but it is believed that the quantity is very nearly the same as that recorded at Phenix, 40 miles distant, which was about 8 inches.

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a The statements giving tribes, areas, and keys for agencies are from the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1890, pages 634–635. The population is the result of the census.